Motor Racing Hungarian Grand Prix

Villeneuve closes the gap on Hill

Alan Henry in Budapest sees the Williams drivers complete a one-two as the team equals Ferrari's record of eight constructors' championships

DAMON HILL's world championship hopes came under further assault on Sunday when his Williams-Renault teammate Jacques Villeneuve beat him into second place in an exciting finish to the Hungarian Grand Prix here despite a thrilling spurt by the Englishman in the closing stages of the 77-lap contest.

Villeneuve's third victory in his first Formula One season reduced Hill's advantage to 17 points with four races, carrying a maximum of 40 points, remaining.

Villeneuve was delighted. "It was great, especially because I was able to beat Damon on that track. I don't usually like that kind of circuit but this victory has made me very happy."

After a tactically demanding and complex battle Hill resumed after his third refuelling stop 7sec behind the Canadian but reduced that to 0.7sec — three car lengths — over the final 15 laps.

However, though the outcome of the drivers' championship remains finely balanced between the two Williams drivers, their team clinched its eighth constructors' championship. That equals Ferrari's record, although the Italian marque won its first title in 1961, 19 years before the younger Williams team's maiden triumph.

Behind Hill was Jean Alesi's Benetton in third place, almost lapped by the dominant Williams pair, while Mika Hakkinen's McLaren, Olivier Panis's Ligier and the Jordan of Rubens Barrichello completed the top six.

Michael Schumacher's Ferrari, having qualified on pole position, went out with throttle problems while running third with seven laps left.

Hill effectively lost the race when he was slow away from second place on the front row of the grid, having to race off-line on the dust as the pack sprinted for the corner. Villeneuve completed the opening lap tucked tightly behind Schumacher's Ferrari while Hill was bogged down in fourth place behind Alesi, a setback that cost him a second a lap in the opening stages.

"I was particularly disgusted with the start," said Hill, "but, that aside, the race was a very good one. I had to push like mad to catch up, make up the gap. In the closing stages I was the fastest car on the track but I lost the race behind Jean in the first 10 laps.

"The way the clutch works doesn't suit me, and Williams have been working hard to provide me with a clutch I can use more easily. But we're going testing in Barcelona, where we can do more work on that. I'm frustrated about the way it operates. I don't know how many times the clutch has cost me time at the start of a race."

Having made that slow start, Hill believed he would have been better served with a two-stop strategy rather than the three stops he ended up with. "I thought I knew what I was doing," he said, "but the strategy was changed after the first stop. When I made the first stop, I thought I was doing a two-stop until the time I came in for my second and I found out I was doing another stop. So it was a bit confusing."

In fact, when Schumacher came in for his first refuelling stop Hill stayed out for six laps in order to make sufficient ground on the Ferrari to stay ahead as he emerged from his own first stop. In fact, he dropped to fourth behind Alesi, only overtaking the Benetton for third place on lap 31 when the Frenchman slid wide at the first corner.

Hill pointed out that he has registered the fastest lap "so I can't be doing it all wrong", but it was his junior partner who had stolen the limelight. Villeneuve had managed to slip ahead of Schumacher to take the lead during the first round of refuelling stops, after which Hill got a chance to make a realistic challenge to his team-mate only when the Canadian lost 10sec at his final stop because of a sticking rear-wheel nut.

In the closing stages Villeneuve did all he needed to, concentrating on keeping things tidy and not making a mistake. Although Hill's was the fastest car at that stage, the Canadian refused to be pressured and rounded off the afternoon confident that he might now be able to make Hill work for the championship up to the final race at Japan's Suzuka circuit in November.

Biting the dust . . . Schumacher, front, and Villeneuve, right, accelerate away from Hill as the Hungarian Grand Prix gets under way in Budapest PHOTOGRAPH: DUSAN VRANIC

Cryptic crossword by Araucaria

Across

4 Hillhead senior won last time (6)
6 Non-fictional William? The case can go higher (4,4)
9 No whistle-blower's habit (6)
10 Mute utterance backed what rodent does about boy (4-4)
11 Great trouble being kept by keeper in aquarian setting (5,6)
15 Agreement to occupy little room? (7)
17 He'll go for a steer like the wind in the leaves (7)
18 Sea across the Channel an Irishman depicted, the old fool (5-6)
22 Indian film on the Channel across the Sea (8)
23 String goes into string — it's a bit painful (6)
24 Scoffing to originate outside the islands (8)
25 Second prize for heraldry? (6)

Down

1 User of a hundred topless pens or blue pencils? (6)
2 China's royal race (5,5)
3 Pole put in money for a chain (8)
4 Sheep from the West caught by female detective (8)
5 Sentences in American publications take ages (8)
7 Picture for one to study (4)
8 Listener to direction for sledge (4)
12 Father's funny greeting to virgin following a narrow escape? (10)
13 Italian name for actress in football club (English) (8)
14 The pulse in the forehead is just bully (8)
16 Tick off a day in the embrace of a beautiful person (8)
19 Noah's second attempt on the Trent? (6)
20 A lot of detectives take drugs (4)
21 Ruler who turns up for Frost? (4)

Last week's solution

Rugby Union South Africa 18 New Zealand 27

Springboks bow in final phase

Ian Borthwick in Cape Town

THE BODY language at post-match press conferences is often a good indication of the mental and physical states of respective camps. At Newlands on Saturday Gary Teichmann, the Springboks vice-captain, appeared in a sweat-soaked T-shirt, his face haggard and voice barely audible.

Like the other Springbok forwards, Teichmann — deputising for the captain François Pienaar, who was being X-rayed for a "lower neck injury" — had just produced one of the most extraordinary performances of individual and team commitment ever seen. For more than 60 minutes South Africa, who had kept their line intact in the three previous games against New Zealand, showed outstanding resolution and aggression in defence.

"Unfortunately defending takes a lot out of you," said Teichmann. "The All Blacks had long periods where they dominated the second- and third-phase possession, and we did nothing but defend."

As for the New Zealand delegation, they trooped into the interview room already showered, exuding a rosy glow of satisfaction — not so much because Sean Fitzpatrick had just been presented with the gigantic Tri-Nations Cup but because their faith in attacking rugby had been vindicated and they had won a Test in South Africa, where they have yet to take a series.

Putting their early jitters behind them, New Zealand stuck to a game plan and came from behind to score 23 points in the final quarter. "I just believed we had to keep plugging away and that eventually the gaps would open and tries would come," said Fitzpatrick.

Whether or not the result can be linked to the 55th-minute exit of Pienaar is debatable but it took New Zealand virtually an hour to gain the upper hand with a Glen Osborne try.

This was a match of bone-shuddering intensity and one wonders how the teams will cope with the unprecedented demands of a three-Test series over the next three weeks.

The prop Os du Randt, carried off on a stretcher shortly before full-time, has suspected concussion, in which case he will miss the forthcoming series. Pienaar, who was taken from the field with his neck immobilised, was found to have a slipped vertebra and, although it was popped back into place, he is expected to need at least three weeks' rest and will almost certainly miss the series too.

The Guardian Weekly

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Week ending September 1, 1996

The Washington Post Le Monde

UK prisons in chaos after inmates freed

Duncan Campbell

THE UK Prison Service was thrown into chaos last week as it emerged that hundreds of multiple offenders were to be released early because of a change in the way their sentences are calculated.

The move took the Prison Service by surprise to such an extent that sex offenders and prisoners of no fixed abode were suddenly out on the streets without the normal period to prepare them for release.

Prison officials also privately fear the possibility of potentially thousands of compensation claims stretching back 30 years from prisoners who have already served much longer sentences than they should have done. Prisoners could be entitled to about £95 ($150) for every excess day inside. All those entitled to the reduction have committed more than one offence.

Within 48 hours the Home Secretary, Michael Howard, halted the release programme. The Prison Service was left in disarray by his sudden move, made after obtaining fresh legal advice which apparently went against that of his own officials. At least 500 inmates due to be freed at the weekend remained in jail.

The director of the Prison Service, Richard Tilt, and senior colleagues were working late on Monday on an urgent report for Mr Howard about the circumstances which led to the sudden release of prisoners.

Mr Howard said he wanted the law clarified before any further releases were sanctioned. In an extraordinary admission, he also said he knew nothing of the release programme until hours before it was revealed.

"I didn't know about it. We are looking into that. I think I should have been consulted beforehand. It's extraordinary," he said.

Mr Howard's assertion that he knew nothing of the release policy will astound many MPs given that Prison Service officials are thought to have been working on the problem, thrown up in two court challenges in the last year, for months.

The Home Secretary said in a statement: "The law is not clear. I expect there to be an early challenge to my decision. I very much hope that the courts will expedite that hearing and we will co-operate in any way necessary."

Officials stood by their insistence that ministers had not been kept informed of legal advice from Home Office lawyers that led to 86 prisoners being released — before Mr Howard stopped the process.

A former Conservative Home Office minister said that it was "totally and utterly unbelievable" that such a politically sensitive decision could have been taken without ministers being aware of it. "This is a Home

continued on page 11

Weeping schoolchildren, wearing traditional folk costumes, listen to the funeral service in Liège of two victims of a Belgian paedophile ring. *Full story, page 4* PHOTOGRAPH: JEROME DELAY

Right supports Chirac as police evict immigrants

Alex Duval Smith in Paris

PRESIDENT Jacques Chirac enjoyed a boost in popularity as the first of more than 200 immigrants evicted from a church occupation in Paris were flown to West Africa at the weekend.

Most of the Africans who occupied the Saint Bernard church in Paris for nearly two months were released after last week's raid, but four of those involved in the sit-in were reportedly among the 57 immigrants flown to Senegal, Mali and Zaire last Saturday.

A Paris court on Monday barred the expulsion of three of the Africans who staged a 52-day hunger strike for the right to stay in France — the court said they were too weak to travel — as immigrant leaders said they hoped their cause would become a national movement.

Last week hundreds of anti-government protesters seeking the immigrants' release clashed with riot police. The police fired tear gas after some protesters in a crowd of up to 1,000 tried to enter the detention centre in Vincennes, eastern Paris, where most of the Africans were being held.

The interior ministry announced that 40 of the protesters had been granted permission to stay, with other cases still undecided. By Sunday night most had been released from detention with orders to report regularly to police.

The 38 per cent "satisfaction" rating scored by President Chirac in Sunday's Journal du Dimanche poll — a rise of 3 per cent — was directly linked to the intervention he ordered to end the church protest.

Among supporters of the anti-immigrant National Front, his satisfaction rating rose by 28 per cent over the course of a month.

Opposition politicians, human rights activists and church leaders denounced the government's unwillingness to negotiate with the Africans — all residents of France when a new law changed their status in 1994.

The Socialist leader, Lionel Jospin, said: "This intervention shows the obstinacy of the government and its clumsiness." The Archbishop of Paris, Cardinal Lustiger, said it had acted in a "politically irresponsible" manner.

Martin Woollacott, page 12

S Korea avenges Kwangju massacre

Andrew Higgins in Hong Kong

SOUTH KOREA took harsh retribution against a brutal and corrupt military past this week when a Seoul court ordered the execution of former president Chun Doo-hwan and prison for a prominent array of tycoons, generals and politicians at the summit of Korea Inc.

But jeers and tears greeted the decision of a three-judge tribunal to sentence a second former president, Roh Tae-woo, to 22½ years in prison instead of death.

"Death to others," chanted spectators, some of them relatives of pro-democracy demonstrators who were killed in the 1980 Kwangju massacre.

The sentencing was the climax of a nine-month attempt to confront South Korea's dark past in court, a cathartic legal exercise designed to exorcise the demons of Kwangju and purge the bloodshed and graft that taint the country's economic triumphs.

In addition to their convictions for mutiny and treason, the two former presidents were found guilty of pocketing some $600 million in bribes and illegal "contributions" from businessmen.

Chun, a disgraced ex-general, was fined 225.9 billion won ($275 million) and Roh 283.8 billion won ($346 million) — the sum they extorted during their years in the presidential Blue House, from 1980 to 1992.

Much of the country came to a halt on Monday as people crowded around television sets to watch the finale of what South Koreans call the "trial of the century".

At the courthouse, a group of women dressed in white mourning clothes cheered the death sentence against Chun, but jeered the prison term for Roh. They later mobbed Roh's son, Jae-hun, as he left the court, shouting: "Kill the murderer's son."

The drama at the Seoul district criminal court has sent shivers through authoritarian regimes across Asia. But despite the death sentence, it will disappoint demands for vengeance from relatives of the more than 200 people killed, and hundreds more wounded, in the Kwangju assault.

The brutal crackdown established a pattern of repression repeated in Beijing and Burma in 1989 and — though with far less bloodshed — the Indonesian capital of Jakarta last month.

But Chun is unlikely to be executed. His death sentence will now be reviewed by the highest court and, if upheld, will probably be lifted by presidential decree.

Eighteen members of the business and political élite — ranging from the chairmen of the Samsung and Daewoo conglomerates to former cabinet ministers — were jailed for corruption. But the more prominent moguls are likely to spend little, if any, time in prison. The head of Samsung, Lee Kun-hee, was given only symbolic punishment — a two-year sentence suspended for three years.

Samsung, the country's largest industrial conglomerate, and other business empires, form the backbone of the economy, and their representatives have argued throughout that they are victims of a corrupt political caste. Most of the nine jailed executives are expected to receive a presidential pardon.

Less mercy will probably be shown to 13 former military colleagues of Chun and Roh, who received jail terms of from four to 10 years. Another former officer was cleared.

Both Chun and Roh, boyhood friends who led a military *putsch* in December 1979, have dismissed the trial as a "political circus" orchestrated by President Kim Young-sam. Elected in 1992 as the first civilian president in 32 years, Mr Kim has promised to "right the wrongs of history". Critics say he is more interested in boosting his flagging popularity.

The two former presidents defended their coup as necessary to prevent anarchy after the assassination of President Park Chung-hee. The judges rejected the claim, describing the *putsch* as "illegal and "responsible for inflicting enormous damage on the people".

The judges denounced the decision to send troops to crush the Kwangju protests. But they said Roh would be spared death in recognition of his role in gaining the country entry to the United Nations in 1991 and other diplomatic achievements.

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Austria	AS30	Malta	45c
Belgium	BF75	Netherlands	G 4.75
Denmark	DK16	Norway	NK 16
Finland	FM 10	Portugal	E300
France	FF 13	Saudi Arabia	SR 6.50
Germany	DM 4	Spain	P 800
Greece	DR 400	Sweden	SK 19
Italy	L 3,000	Switzerland	SF 3.30

When the rest of the world is out of focus

IAN KATZ got it right regarding US media coverage of the Olympic Games in Atlanta (Driven to despair by NBC's schlock tactics, August 11). I suppose everyone apart from the "target audience" was frustrated and appalled both by the lack of coverage of athletic events (once thought to be the reason for the Olympics), and by the near-paranoia in keeping only US athletes in the cameras. What can the future be for the Olympics? Just another professional media sports event overwhelmed by dollars?

This xenophobic US focus is not confined to coverage of the Olympics. Television news coverage is much the same. For example, the very popular ABC's World News Tonight, with Peter Jennings, displays the same myopic view of the world. About 85 or 90 per cent of "world news" covers domestic US stories, most having little significance outside the United States. Just now, the matter is made much much worse with the Disney World-like exhibition of presidential nominating conventions. The "soap opera" emphasis is evident there as it was in the Olympic Games. The Republican convention (like the Gulf war) was a carefully scripted and managed "news" event.

The remaining 10 per cent of World News Tonight is taken up in large part by US interests abroad, (eg, the bombing in Saudi Arabia), or by its client states (eg, Israel). With luck, brief coverage might be given, for example, to Chechenia or Bosnia (with a substantial US interest). Otherwise, forget the "world" outside the US. The content of much of the print coverage is moving in the same direction.

The same xenophobia is evident, too, in attempts to call all other countries to task, including America's staunchest allies, if they don't toe the line on sanctions and embargoes against countries politically unpopular in the US (eg, Cuba, Libya, Iran, Iraq).

A particularly sad and perilous feature of this US political and media fixation is how, if at all, the American public can be educated about vital matters outside their own borders. What will that ignorance cost the rest of us?

In the face of all this, thank God for the BBC World Service. And of course, the Guardian Weekly.
James E Gander,
Ottawa, Canada

SEVERAL articles in recent issues of the Weekly have decried the commercialism of the Atlanta Games and the nauseating, parochial sentimentality of NBC's television coverage. The situation is actually far worse than the articles describe. Far from being transient aberrations brought on by the excitement of the Games, these ghastly carryings on are the natural consequences of the way things are in the US.

What you witnessed during the Games was a society and news media dominated by corporations, business interests, and so-called public relations to an extent that foreigners may find difficult to understand. There is hardly an area of life in the US that has not in some way been manipulated, packaged, engineered, marketed or sanitised. Propaganda and ideology is so pervasive it is invisible. This has created an hermetic and largely fictional world within which the American public, with the odd exception, lives its life. I suspect that there is little distinction in the minds of many Americans between amusement parks, fictional places, and other countries.
Cecil Bloch,
Mountain View, California, USA

Mind Canada's language

CHARLES TRUEHEART'S article on Quebec's language policies (Quebec calls to its mother tongue, August 11) is misleading to the point of being, pardon the pun, untrue.

His opening paragraph sets the tone by stating that while all of Canada is bilingual, "Quebec declines the gesture. It has just one official language: French." The problem with this statement is that it is incorrect. While the federal government of Canada has adopted official bilingualism — limited to some of its activities and parts of the country — no provincial government has followed suit except one, my home province of New Brunswick. Quebec has "declined the gesture" in the company of eight other provincial governments. Even without being officially bilingual, Quebec still offers a greater range of public services in English than do most of its provincial counterparts, in French, for their francophone minorities.

The perpetuation of misunderstandings on how the linguistic regimes in Canada operate cannot but contribute to more frustration and conflict.
(Dr) Fernand de Varennes,
Murdoch University, Perth, Australia

I TAKE issue with Charles Trueheart when he calls "bilingualism a virtue and an asset in the rest of Canada and elsewhere". Besides Quebec itself, only a minority of Canadians cling to that "politically correct" theory. Ever since Scott Reid's 1993 book Lament For A Notion documented so fully "the life and death of Canada's bilingual dream", a majority of Canadians have branded Canadian official bilingualism for what it is: a divisive, very costly experiment to find national unity.

In the same edition, an In Brief column refers to the US dilemma of "American traditions of diversity of cultures" versus the "unity of language" . . . meaning, of course, a single language. A majority of Canadians understand the conflict and yearn for a single, unifying, working language.
W Desmond Hackett,
Toronto, Canada

Divisions over Cyprus

I AM astonished at the apparently passive reception of recent events in Cyprus by the British government and the Opposition (Call for calm as Greek Cypriots mourn, August 25). When Turkish crowds are permitted to beat a Greek Cypriot citizen to death in full view of the world's media and another is shot dead, one would have expected officials at least to question the pretence of the Turkish government to be improving its record on human rights.

I have seen no comments from the Foreign Office upon the fitness of this nation to be admitted to the European Union or any condemnation of the Turkish state's response to legitimate protest.
Tina Petrou,
London

FOR 22 years, the Turkish army has been illegally ensconced in northern Cyprus. Unless Turkey's role in Cyprus is treated more sternly, especially by its ally the United States, nothing will make it shift from its intransigent position.
Despina Christodoulou,
Cambridge, England

THE real responsibility for the tragic deaths of Mr T Isaac and Mr S S Solumou during the recent violence in Cyprus lies with the policy makers of the European Union. In clear breach of the Zurich and London agreements and by totally ignoring the legitimate rights of the Turkish Cypriots, they decided to give the green light to the Greek Cypriots in joining the EU.

This has resurrected the long dead and buried dream of Enosis (ie, union with Greece) in whose name Cyprus has been destroyed. Greek leaders now see an historic breakthrough in their long "struggle" to unite Cyprus with Greece — under the umbrella of the EU — and "drive the barbaric invaders" out.
Mustafa Müniir,
Steinhausen, Switzerland

Finns late in race

AS A black person who has lived in Finland for the past 30 years I must take issue with Jon Henley's article (Finns give blacks icy reception, August 18). Sadly, I do not contest the fact that incidents of the type described in the first part of the article take place. They do, however, have to be put into perspective.

Finland has only recently become "multiracial" in the manner more centrally located European countries did two or three generations ago. A look at London newspapers from the 1960s would certainly reveal numerous similar examples of churlishness.

As was pointed out in the article, Finland has an 800-year history of trying to maintain its identity under pressure from more powerful neighbours. A certain reserve with respect to foreigners is thus part of the national psyche. If Finns sometimes act churlishly to obvious foreigners, they do the same to compatriots, particularly when under the influence. This is an unfortunate manifestation of the national culture, not racism.

Finns have endured a long history of being considered by their neighbours to be culturally and linguistically inferior, so racism doesn't come naturally to them. The facts that Namibia's minister of health is Finnish-educated, that Finnish foreign aid has been used to assist the Institute of Swahili Language at Dar es Salaam university to modernise the language using strategies similar to those employed by Finns about 150 years ago, that many schools in Helsinki have been designed by a long-resident architect originally from the Ivory Coast, and that a Nigerian-Finn represented Finland in the recent Miss Universe beauty pageant, demonstrate that Finnish society, no matter what its shortcomings on the individual level, is not plagued by institutionalised racism.
Eugene Holman,
University of Helsinki, Finland

Briefly

RICHARD THOMAS (Too much democracy can be bad for you, August 18) is right to draw attention to the conflict between democracy and economics. But I think he is wrong to ascribe the current rash of short-termism to an overdose of democracy. It is the money world that is obsessed with short-termism. It measures the success in terms of efficiency: with the ratio of output to input. Hence "downsizing", and the loss of security and the feel-good factor. We, the common people, demand effectiveness from our economy. We want it to enable us to lead a decent life in the long term. This includes reasonable prospects of a lasting job, a house we can afford, and a long-term future for our planet.
Philip Hunt,
Llanishen, Cardiff, Wales

JOHN NAUGHTON (Certainty in righteousness, July 21) asks why gurus are so attractive to so many people. Surely the answer is that we all have our gurus: how else, for example, could religion survive when there is no concrete proof of any religious beliefs? Human beings do not normally work things out rationally, working by instinct. Some choose more unusual gurus than others, but who is to say who is right if there is no agreed method of determining what is the truth?
Bob Kirk,
Bangkok, Thailand

IT WAS dismaying to see that the unholy nuclear alliance is behind the defeat of millions of appeals to the World Court regarding nuclear arms (China raises hopes for test ban treaty, August 4). The Physicians for Global Responsibility definitely decline responsibility for humanitarian treatment in the event of an "extreme circumstance" that would obviously destroy what was to be protected. When the British Ministry of "Defence" keeps secret a British-American nuclear disaster for 38 years, what else is concealed?
(Mrs) S Frazer,
Port Alberni, BC, Canada

THE easiest way to avoid appointing a freemason to chair a public body (The Week in Britain, August 25) is to appoint a woman.
Eileen Smith,
Chester-le-Street, Co Durham

A WOMAN carrying eight foetuses is being offered huge sums of money by pro-life groups to carry all eight to term (Chequebooks come out for 8-baby birth, August 18). Informed medical opinion is that if such a course is undertaken none of the foetuses will survive. This woman is, in effect, being offered a fortune to have a late termination.
(Dr) Eleanor Scott,
Petersfield, Hants

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Chechen peace deal put on hold

James Meek in Moscow

THE CHECHEN peace process slowed down sharply at the weekend when the Kremlin's envoy to Chechenia, Alexander Lebed, failed to sign a deal with separatist leaders and returned to Moscow.

Fingers stayed on triggers in the adjacent armed camps of Russians and rebels, while plans for joint patrols of Grozny were put on hold as doubts resurfaced over whether Gen Lebed or his rebel counterpart, Aslan Maskhadov, could control their forces.

The Russian commander, Vyacheslav Tikhomirov, suspended co-operation with the separatists after a group of rebels disarmed a column of interior ministry troops in Grozny. The rebels seized more than 70 weapons. Movladi Udugov, a rebel spokesman, apologised for the incident and said the weapons would be returned. The guilty group was a renegade unit, he said.

Local Russian commanders said the seizure was the reason for Gen Lebed's departure for Moscow. But the general said he needed to return for legal consultations about peace treaty documents, and that the process itself was not at risk. The contradiction is another sign of the Russians' weak chain of command and lack of accountability at the top which, combined with the rebel leaders' inability to control rogue bands, has destroyed past ceasefires.

Gen Lebed signed a preliminary ceasefire with Gen Maskhadov on Thursday last week and had hoped to sign a longer-term agreement. But he said new proposals on Chechenia's future status put forward by the rebels at the weekend needed first to be approved by President Boris Yeltsin and Viktor Chernomyrdin, the prime minister.

Different Russian commanders in Chechenia accused the rebels of a multitude of ceasefire violations. One officer said rebel snipers were still at work — a Russian serviceman was shot dead in Grozny. Despite tension in Grozny, however, a large Russian armoured column did pull out of the city's southern district of Shatoi. It was later reported that the Russian troops and the rebels had overcome their differences and signed a ceasefire agreement.

Gen Lebed called the weapons seizure "a misunderstanding". Before leaving for Moscow, he appealed to the Chechen people to show good sense and restraint. "Popular wisdom says it only takes one fool to begin a war, while dozens of wise men cannot stop one," he said.

The peace plan remains unclear, but it envisages two Russian brigades staying on in Chechenia. There would be new elections, and a referendum on the territory's status. Although Mr Yeltsin insists it remains nominally part of Russia, and in the past the rebels have demanded full independence, some form of words will probably be found to satisfy both sides.

One Moscow source said the issue of Chechenia's status might be postponed for five years, to allow the territory to recover from the war.

Meanwhile President Yeltsin, on vacation near Moscow, ignored requests for a meeting with his security chief on Tuesday, casting new doubts over the peace process Gen Lebed has launched in Chechnia.

Mr Yeltsin's press office, quoted by Itar-Tass news agency, said the president did not plan any working meetings on Tuesday. "Boris Yeltsin is continuing his vacation in the Moscow region," Tass said.

Mr Yeltsin has insisted that independence-minded Chechnia is an integral part of the Russian Federation and his reaction to Gen Lebed's peace initiatives has been confused and contradictory. Last week the president, in an interview broadcast hours before Gen Lebed agreed a truce in the region, said he was not satisfied with Gen Lebed's work in Chechenia. Only late the following day did he voice support for the general's efforts.

Women in Grozny prepare food outdoors last week, making the most of a calm day during the fragile ceasefire agreed between the Russian army and Chechen rebels PHOTOGRAPH: MINDAUGAS KULBIS

Ex-colonel found guilty of murder

Bob Drogin in Johannesburg

A FORMER police officer who headed apartheid's most notorious death squad — a state-sanctioned unit that carried out grisly bombings, assassinations and other atrocities — was convicted on Monday of five counts of murder.

The former police colonel, Eugene de Kock, a key figure in the "dirty war" waged by the white minority regime against black liberation forces, is the first senior security officer to be convicted of apartheid-related offences since the nation's founding democratic elections in April 1994.

Magnus Malan, the apartheid-era defence minister, and 10 other former top military and intelligence officials are on trial in a separate murder case in Durban. The group is charged with masterminding a hit-squad massacre of 13 people, most of them women and children, nine years ago.

Col de Kock still faces verdicts on 116 other charges, including three more murders, kidnapping, assault, illegal weapons possession and dozens of counts of fraud.

Now aged 48, the burly, bespectacled officer headed the Vlakplaas police anti-insurgency squad — known as the C-10 unit — from a placid farm west of Pretoria for a decade until the group was ordered disbanded in 1993.

Witnesses and evidence implicated Col de Kock's team in a gruesome series of covert crimes, including bombing, poisoning, torturing and burning to death dozens of anti-apartheid activists in South Africa and abroad. The 18-month trial offered a grim litany of official cover-ups, corruption and killing, allegedly by some of the most senior police officers of the time.

Col de Kock's specialty was using torture, blackmail or other means to persuade captured black guerrillas from the African National Congress to work for him.

But in some cases the killers turned on each other. Witnesses testified that Col de Kock and his men savagely beat a black policeman in their unit, then suffocated him with an inner tube, a practice they called "tubing".

A previous investigation of "third force" activities — as covert, state-sponsored violence was termed — alleged that Col de Kock and his operatives had: trained and armed Zulu militias in workers' hostels; organised massacres on commuter trains; and funnelled weapons to the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party, the chief rival of the now ruling ANC.

Col de Kock's conviction on Monday came as no surprise since his lawyers had unexpectedly conceded at the end of his marathon trial that the state case proved he was guilty of six murder charges, kidnapping, assault and 28 fraud charges. They called no witnesses in his defence.

Judge Willem van der Merwe had only finished reading the first five charges in the Pretoria Supreme Court on Monday before the court was adjourned for the day. Sentencing has not been scheduled. — *Los Angeles Times*

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Washington Post, page 15

Indian troops rescue pilgrims trapped by snow in Kashmir

Suzanne Goldenberg in New Delhi

INDIAN troops fought at the weekend to rescue thousands of stranded pilgrims along a perilous 50km mountain trail, ferrying the weakest to safety by helicopter and leading the able-bodied down by foot.

More than 100 pilgrims have frozen to death in the past week after the annual pilgrimage to the cave of Amarnath in the northern state of Kashmir was hit by torrential rains and heavy snow. The arduous trail ascends to more than 3,600m, where temperatures fell below zero.

Some 70,000 pilgrims are still stranded on the trail, although most are believed to be out of immediate danger. A military spokesman said that 30,000 pilgrims had been led to lower ground at the weekend, including 2,000 who were ferried to the Kashmir capital, Srinagar, and other towns by three military helicopters.

Helicopters dropped warm clothing, blankets, food and first aid kits to pilgrims still on the trail. Many of the devotees wore only light clothing, and some Hindu ascetics were naked except for a coating of ash.

The trekkers were among 110,000 Hindu devotees who had come to worship at the cave of Amarnath, which contains an ice stalagmite regarded as a representation of the god Shiva. The 50km trek normally takes five days.

The pilgrimage has officially been cancelled. But the extent of the summer storms means that even pilgrims who had not left the starting point of the trek, at the town of Pahalgam, are also stranded. Floods have washed out all roads to the town, and the sole road link between Srinagar and the rest of India has been closed because of landslides.

The storms put paid to what had been expected to be the best attended Amarnath pilgrimage for years. The eruption of a Kashmiri separatist uprising in 1989 politicised the pilgrimage, and it became a target of Islamist groups. Last year, an Islamist group banned the pilgrimage, enforcing its edict by staging two bomb attacks.

At the weekend, Kashmiri separatist leaders said they were shocked at the heavy death toll, and offered condolences to the families of the dead.

Notorious Khmer Rouge leader seeks amnesty

Nick Cumming-Bruce in Phnom Penh

CAMBODIA'S joint prime ministers are recommending their king to grant amnesty to one of Pol Pot's most notorious henchmen, Ieng Sary, who was closely implicated in the mass killing by the Khmer Rouge regime.

Their decision has prompted a debate on how far Phnom Penh should go to exploit the defection of Pol Pot's senior commanders. The hope is that they may spell the end of the Khmer Rouge as a serious military threat to the government, even if it remains an agent of localised terror.

Prince Norodom Ranariddh tried to encourage divisions among the rebels when he announced last week that he would also recommend revoking legislation outlawing the Khmer Rouge.

His fellow prime minister, Hun Sen, said that he and Prince Ranariddh would advise King Norodom Sihanouk to grant Mr Sary an amnesty "in the spirit of guaranteeing safety and security".

Mr Sary, aged 67, was the only Khmer Rouge leader apart from Pol Pot to be sentenced, *in absentia*, to death at a 1979 show trial staged by the Vietnamese-backed regime which replaced them. For nearly half a century he was Pol Pot's most intimate associate — until last month, when he was denounced by Khmer Rouge radio.

King Sihanouk said last week that he would only grant Mr Sary amnesty if urged to do so by both prime ministers, supported by a two-thirds majority of the national assembly.

"Only the people have the right to tell me whether or not it is necessary to amnesty this or that criminal responsible for the national genocide." He said he still favoured bringing Khmer Rouge leaders to justice.

Mr Sen's support for an amnesty was in response to demands from renegade Khmer Rouge commanders for a clear statement of the government's position on Mr Sary, whom they have named as their leader.

Belgian paedophile case points to police 'cover-up'

Stephen Bates

MOUNTING suspicion in Belgium that the paedophile gang accused of the country's worst sex crimes against children may have had police protection appeared to receive some confirmation at the weekend as a police inspector was taken into custody.

Georges Zicot, an officer based in the southern town of Charleroi, became the seventh suspect to be arrested in the case which has convulsed Belgium after revelations that Marc Dutroux, aged 39, a builder and electrician from Charleroi, and his associates abducted teenage girls and allowed two eight-year-olds to starve to death.

It was alleged that Mr Zicot had turned a blind eye to intelligence reports that Mr Dutroux might be involved in the disappearance of children, and that he had earlier been suspected of involvement in protection rackets.

The public prosecutor, Michel Bourlet, said Mr Zicot — a specialist in tackling vehicle theft — would be charged with truck theft, insurance fraud and document forgery.

Three other people were later arrested, bringing the total to 10.

Mr Bourlet said the connection was through Bernard Weinstein, a murdered accomplice of Mr Dutroux. If true, the allegations open the prospect that a number of police were involved.

The Belgian media speculated that senior officers must have known of the paedophile activities. Since the release of two teenage girls from an underground dungeon at Mr Dutroux's home, and the discovery of the bodies of two others in the back garden of another Dutroux house, concern has increased that the police investigation into their disappearance 15 months ago was so incompetent that only a cover-up could explain it.

● The first global effort to combat child prostitution and pornography opened in Stockholm this week. The 1,000 delegates from 130 countries were due to address many of the forces that drive children into the sex trade and have drafted suggestions for action.

Child sex in UK, page 8
Comment, page 12

The Week

AUSTRALIA has announced it will lead a campaign to revive the comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty negotiations, which failed at the Geneva Conference on Disarmament because of opposition from India.

PRESIDENT Clinton made a proposal to deny handguns to "wife beaters and child abusers" as his campaign train rolled toward Chicago and the Democratic Convention. He also announced far-reaching restrictions on the advertising and sale of tobacco to adolescents.

Washington Post, page 15

THE EXPERT group supervising Bosnia's forthcoming polls is urging postponement of the municipal elections due this month because of overwhelming evidence of nationalist rigging of voter registration.

PAKISTAN has denied a report by the Washington Post that it is building a missile plant in Rawalpindi with Chinese help.

BURUNDI'S military leader, Major Pierre Buyoya, dismissed three controversial senior military officers, including the army chief of staff implicated in the assassination of the country's first Hutu president.

A LAW passed by the Peruvian congress allows Alberto Fujimori to become one of Latin America's longest-serving democratically elected presidents. He is now free to stand for a third five-year term in 2000.

MOTHER TERESA, who turned 86 on Tuesday, is on a respirator in intensive care in a Calcutta hospital after suffering heart failure and an attack of malarial fever.

A RECORD 437,000 Cubans have entered the lottery for visas to America. Approximately 5,000 are on offer.

THE fugitive US financier Robert Vesco, on the run from US justice for nearly 25 years, was sentenced to 13 years in jail by a Cuban court after being found guilty of economic crimes in Cuba.

THE FBI plans to nearly double the number of its agents abroad in the next four years by opening offices in a further 23 foreign cities.

A SHOWDOWN is looming for President Robert Mugabe's government as 60,000 civil servants in Zimbabwe strike for the second week over pay rises of more than 20 per cent.

THE US rock group REM has become the highest paid group in the world after signing a record $80 million contract with Warner Brothers.

Five killed in tuna war trawler blast

Owen Bowcott

FIVE Japanese fishermen were killed last week in an explosion on board a deep-sea trawler more than 320km off the Irish coast.

The blast, believed to have been triggered by freon gas leaking from a refrigerator into the engine rooms of the Taisei Maru, came as two other Japanese ships were being impounded in the County Cork port of Castletownbere for illegally fishing tuna in the eastern Atlantic.

Irish navy patrol vessels were monitoring the presence of a 40-strong fleet of Japanese ships on the edge of the European fishing limit 320km offshore.

The sudden appearance of the Japanese fleet — at least twice the size of the Irish republic's entire navy — highlights the pressure on dwindling fisheries stocks worldwide and the heady prices paid for rare species.

Pursuing bluefin tuna as they migrate across the eastern Atlantic, the Japanese flotilla had been engaged in a tense stand-off with the Irish navy. The fleet was intent on recovering its floating longlines inside the 320km limit, while the patrol vessels were waiting to arrest them if they did.

In Castletownbere, the 67m Minatu Maru spent all day tied up by the quay while its skipper was driven to court in nearby Bandon to face a fine of up to $300,000.

The Japanese crew, who came ashore at the harbour and holiday resort, were reported to be feeling embarrassed. Mike Barnett, of Ireland's South and West Fisheries Association, who boarded the vessel, said: "They were just following the fish. Maybe they were aware of where they were. Maybe not . . . We sell a lot of herring roe to the Japanese every year and we hope this won't jeopardise the trade.

"Their ships aren't taking fish from Irish boats, because we don't go after the bluefin. If anything, we are grateful to them for having shown there is valuable fishery to exploit. Our real problems are with Spanish flag ships landing catches from within European waters."

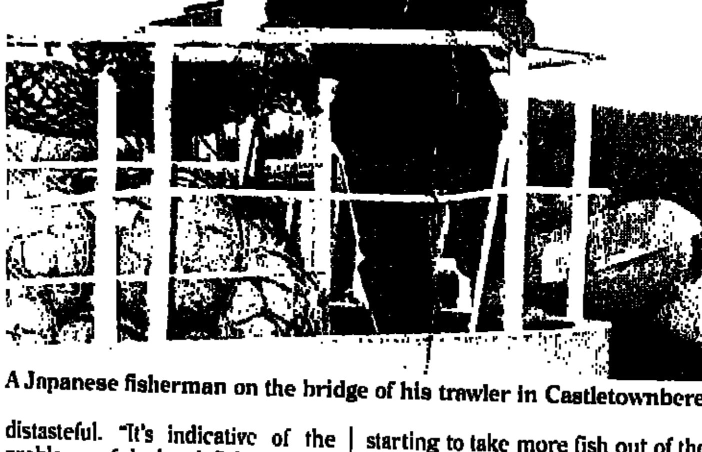
The Minatu Maru and Shoshin Maru are the first Japanese vessels to be detained by the Irish navy. Trailing longlines, which carry hooks baited with squid that stretch for up to 110km, they can freeze catches worth hundreds of thousands of dollars. The Minatu Maru had eight tonnes of fish on board.

Once their holds are full, the multi-million-dollar vessels offload their cargo on to factory ships bound for Japan, and carry on fishing. The Japanese fleet in the Atlantic is not due back in Japan until next March.

Bluefin tuna, which weigh as much as half a ton, command prices of up to $30,000 each. Served raw in Tokyo restaurants as a sushi delicacy, slices can cost $30 a mouthful.

Environmentalists find the trade distasteful. "It's indicative of the problems of depleted fish stocks if the Japanese have to turn up in the eastern Atlantic looking for tuna," Desley Mather, Greenpeace's ocean's campaigner in Dublin, said. "The Taiwanese, Koreans and Japanese have all been sailing further afield in recent years. We are starting to take more fish out of the oceans than can be sustained."

Japanese vessels have been forced to abandon the use of lengthy drift nets following campaigns to save dolphins. But the longlines, costing up to $45,000 each and tethered between floating buoys fitted with radio beacons, have drawn criticism.



A Japanese fisherman on the bridge of his trawler in Castletownbere

Empty promises threaten Middle East peace

Derek Brown in Jerusalem

THE ISRAELI prime minister, Binyamin Netanyahu, promised last week that peace talks with the Palestine Liberation Organisation would resume soon.

That is not news — he has been promising as much for two months, since taking office. Just as he has been promising, every couple of weeks, to say how his government will fulfil Israel's commitment to redeploy its occupation troops in the West Bank town of Hebron.

Mr Netanyahu's promises come thick and fast, and they cut both ways. Last week he promised Egypt's president, Hosni Mubarak, that there would be progress in talks with the Palestinians. But he has also promised Jewish settlers in the occupied territories that they can expand their colonies, with his help.

He has promised the settlers in the Golan Heights that their land will not be given back to Syria. He has promised the Syrians peace talks, without preconditions.

Little wonder that the Israeli government is exasperating its friends, as well as its foes, by its continuing imitation of a rabbit paralysed by the onrushing headlights of decision-making.

In the vacuum created by masterly inactivity, some alarming theories have flourished and acquired substance. In July the government refloated the far from new idea of "Lebanon first" peace talks. Israel, it said, would be prepared to withdraw its occupation forces from south Lebanon in return for guarantees that the Islamist guerrillas in Lebanon would be brought to heel.

Syria, the de facto power in Lebanon, was predictably outraged by the suggestion of talks bypassing the main issue for Damascus: Golan.

Then, last month, Israel let it drop that it no longer felt bound by the tentative understandings achieved in negotiations in the United States earlier this year. The central idea which emerged from those talks was that any security arrangement on the Golan should be "mutual": that is, that both sides would have to make concessions.

Damascus really was incensed, the more so when the new Israeli position was followed by a spate of academic and military "revelations". Amnon Shahak, the army chief, said Syria had acquired Scud missiles capable of hitting most of Israel.

The respected academic Ze'ev Ma'oz, who was analysing the government's "total turnaround", said its main import was "a significant increase in the likelihood of a war breaking out against Syria".

Mr Netanyahu was obliged to intervene, to say that in his view Syria posed no new threat, and that he hoped (again) that talks could be restarted. He also said that, apropos the security understandings negotiated by the previous government, Israel was committed only to signed agreements.

That last observation raised hollow laughter among the Palestinians, who have waited in vain for Mr Netanyahu to move beyond his repeated claims that the PLO is violating the peace accords by maintaining offices in Jerusalem.

But the debate about who is the more egregious violator of the accords is beginning to look dangerously sterile. Yasser Arafat's self-rule Palestinian Authority is on the brink of bankruptcy, mired in human rights abuse and corruption, and under unrelenting pressure from Israel to bash the Islamists.

It desperately needs a prop from Israel, in the form of some progress in the interminably delayed peace progress. Instead, all it is getting is promises.

Russia beats US as top arms seller

Martin Walker in Washington

RUSSIA has overtaken the United States as the leading arms seller to the developing world, and now has 40 per cent of the much shrunken international arms market, according to a report published by the Congressional Research Service (CRS) last week.

Russian arms sales rose by 62 per cent last year, to $6 billion. Two-thirds of this came from the sale of Sukhoi fighter bombers to China, and a lesser sale of the same aircraft to Vietnam. The deals were big enough to send Russia to the top of the league in a generally flat year on the international arms market.

Behind the Russians in sales to the developing world were the US at $3.8 billion, France at $2.4 billion, Italy at $800 million and Britain at $500 million.

The report defined the developing world as all nations except the US, Russia, western Europe, Canada, Japan, Australia and New Zealand. The developing nations, it said, accounted for slightly more than half of arms purchases worldwide last year.

The arms trade has declined for five years in a row, to a total $15.4 billion last year, down from the 1988 peak of $61 billion. The Gulf war's boost to the market for hi-tech US weaponry has dissipated — US arms sales fell from $6.3 billion in 1994 to last year's $3.8 billion.

Like most other sellers to the Middle East, Russia also saw a collapse of its lucrative market in Iran. Russia sold Iran $3.5 billion of arms between 1988-91, and has sold it only $200 million since.

Although Britain was second last year in deliveries of weapons, selling $4.5 billion, the cutbacks in Saudi and Gulf orders helped Britain drop to fifth in the world rankings for new orders last year.

The US is seeking new markets, and the Clinton administration is proposing to lift restrictions on arms sales to Latin America, long constrained to prevent any regional arms race.

"I expect the arms industry and the Pentagon to use this report to say America is falling behind, and we have to have a level playing field, and let's start with Latin America," Dr William Hartung, senior fellow at the World Policy Institute in New York, and an authority on the arms trade, said last week.

"It's absurd, and dangerous. We ought to be celebrating that the arms market is in decline. But these are very useful statistics for US industry, even though the reality is that Russia is not surging ahead and capturing our markets. This is a one-year anomaly."

The US response to the declining market has already begun, with a $15 billion military export financing programme authorised by Congress last year. Paul Hoeper, under-secretary of defence for international and commercial programmes, has already listed 37 nations that qualify for the US subsidies, including China, Indonesia, Malaysia, Chile and Mexico.

China's rearmament is expected to fuel new markets among its nervous neighbours, although China too is now creeping into the list of arms export leaders with its sales of Silkworm missiles to Iran, and other exports to Pakistan and North Korea.

The desperation of US arms exporters is producing some bizarre deals. McDonnell-Douglas accepted part of Thailand's $580 million payment for eight F-18 fighters in the form of frozen chickens.

The figures in the CRS report also may undervalue the real scale of US sales, because since 1990 so much US equipment has been sold at big discounts.

Arms sales

To developing countries, $bn.

	1994	1995
Russia	3.7	6.0
US	6.3	3.8
France	8.9	2.7

Total arms sales to developing countries, $bn.

1988	61
1995	15.4

Source: Congressional Research Service

The wife of Jacques Florival grieves after he was shot dead at their home in the Haitian capital, Port-au-Prince, along with pastor Antoine Leroy, a senior official of the opposition Mobilisation for National Democracy (MDN)

Oil giant buys army for $60m in Colombia

Chris Barrie and Nicholas Bannister

BP GAVE the phrase "private army" new currency last week when it emerged that the oil giant is to buy its own battalion of élite troops for $60 million.

Faced with growing guerrilla attacks on its pipelines, BP has signed a deal with the Colombian ministry of defence to bankroll 500 soldiers and 150 officers. The crack troops, said to be the best that the local military can provide, will guard BP installations and residences, and form a rapid response unit to protect BP's 880km-long pipeline.

The deal, reported in the New York Times, is a significant increase in BP's involvement with the Colombian regime. Reports have suggested that the oil company has collaborated secretly with Colombian military intelligence by providing pictures of meetings with the local community.

The BP agreement is part of a growing tendency for oil companies to finance their own armed protection. Shell found itself in a storm of protest when it emerged that it had paid for 105 guns for police attached to the group's Nigerian company.

A subsidiary of the US oil company Occidental is said to be funding two platoons of Colombian soldiers, at a cost of $7 million.

BP's army will be used primarily to protect a pipeline that has yet to be built and which will carry oil to the Caribbean coast, from where it will be shipped to the US. The oil company's decision to press ahead with private protection on this scale is a reflection of Colombia's growing importance as an oil producer, and of a sharp rise in attacks by anti-government forces.

According to Chase Manhattan Bank, oil production in Colombia has risen from 161,000 barrels a day in 1975 to about 450,000 barrels. BP is particularly keen to see the South American country exploit its oil fields, having discovered some of the country's largest oil reserves in eastern Colombia.

Only two months ago the environment ministry gave BP permission to drill three wells close to the extensive Cusiana and Cupiagua oil fields. BP was reported to have assured President Ernesto Samper that it was committed to the country despite recent political turmoil. By 1998 the largest field, Cusiana, will be producing 1 million barrels a day. It is operated by, among others, BP.

According to the New York Times, the company has sought to hedge its bets by spending heavily on development projects along the course of a pipeline, so securing local support for its activities. Scattered installations and long pipelines leave oil companies vulnerable to lightning attacks.

Speaking in Bogotá on Thursday, the Colombian army commander, General Harold Bedoya, admitted that oil companies had agreed to defray the costs of defending oil installations.

Shell has a stake in the Cano Limon region where attacks have been among the most virulent. It said last week that its policy was to use private security for protection wherever needed. These forces would be armed "if that was the prevailing culture of the country."

Gadafy arrests businessmen

Kathy Evans

THE Libyan leader, Colonel Muammar Gadafy, has ordered the arrest of 1,500 of the country's businessmen on charges of "corruption" and dealing in foreign goods, Libyan dissidents based in London have claimed.

Western diplomats in Tripoli say the detentions are typical of Col Gadafy's erratic and "unfathomable" policies towards the business community. They also believe that "purification committees" newly set up by the authorities to root out corruption and black-marketeering have been closing shops and prominent firms.

Several dealers on the gold and money exchanges have been detained, as have the heads of some leading business families from Benghazi for alleged links to rebel groups. Shops belonging to foreigners have been burnt.

An opposition spokesman in London said that among those arrested were Mohammed Abdul Jawad, the head of Libya's oil investment company, and Mohammed al-Sousi, a car importer known for his connections to the country's former royal family, the Sanussis. The businessmen are believed to be held in Tajoura prison close to Tripoli.

Despite declared liberalisation policies, the private sector is still viewed with suspicion. A huge devaluation of the dinar and an influx of foreign goods that most Libyans cannot afford may have triggered the latest assault on the business community.

Plague of teenage killers spreads

Christopher Reed in Los Angeles

THE 14-year-old boy had told friends he was looking for someone to shoot. He left with his gun, saying he would return soon. Ten minutes later he came back to boast: "I did it!" The victim was his mother, dead with a single bullet through her forehead.

The shooting in Glendale, Los Angeles, is the latest of a rash of murders committed by children as young as 10. They are part of what criminologists see as a new wave of killings by America's children.

In 1993, 3,647 US teenagers were convicted of killing. By 2005 there are likely to be at least 5,000 annually. One reason is demographic: an increase in 13- to 17-year-olds, the offspring of the post-war baby boom generation. The trend is strongest among Hispanic and black teenagers in the south and west, where the murder rate is increasing fastest.

This summer certainly looked like a killing season for the children academics call "super-predators".

Prosecutors in Watts, the black Los Angeles ghetto, last month charged a boy of 12 with joining in the gang rape of a girl of 13, and shooting a woman of 82 who tried to intervene. The rape took place next door to the elderly woman's home, in an empty, vermin-infested house used by drug takers.

In June a girl of 12 was put in juvenile care for five years in California after admitting that she tried to kill her schoolteacher by pouring rat poison in a soft drink. The girl complained that the teacher had been too strict, and said that she had planned the murder for two months with two boys, aged 12 and 11.

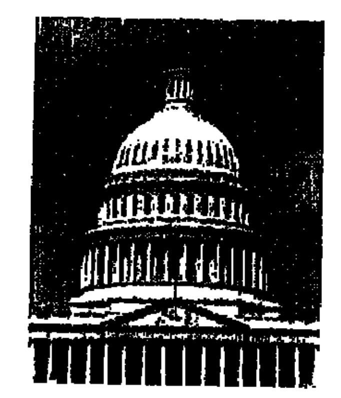
Last month in Texas, another girl of 12 was sentenced to 20 years in state custody for beating to death a two-year-old girl by striking her more than a dozen times. The child died from a blow that ruptured her liver. In Colorado a boy of 10 murdered a baby girl of 18 months by beating her with a chain.

In Los Angeles in June a boy of 14 was confined until the age of 25 for shooting his mother dead in a dispute over a chocolate biscuit. Another boy of 14 was sentenced to 25-years-to-life in San Diego, California, in June for shooting dead a pizza delivery man who refused to hand over the order without payment.

More typical of big cities are gang shootings, and the children involved are becoming younger. Professor Jack Levin, a criminologist at Northeastern University in Boston, says: "We are seeing younger and younger children committing more and more violence and murders — hideous crimes — and it's a trend not just in America but in any Western society that has similar problems."

Youngsters in early teenage can be deadlier. They may kill for trivial reasons and have less understanding of what death means. They also kill for power, thrills or revenge, he says, in a society where family ties have been broken, and film and television violence make murder seem commonplace.

Clinton abandons New Deal pledge



The US this week

Martin Walker

CHICAGO: President Clinton arrived at his party's convention after a blizzard of legislation that finally defined Clintonism. And while he enacted nothing that he had not promised when he began campaigning for the White House four years ago, Clinton broke the heart of the old Democratic party to do it.

He may also have completed the process he began in 1992 of shifting the Democrats permanently to the electable centre of American politics, and charting the course for other liberal-left parties around the industrialised world. We have already seen the British Labour party shifting in the Clintonian direction of embracing free markets and free trade, traditional values, "tough love" social policies, and generally making the party safe for middle-class allegiance.

Political survival may require no less. The centre right has been in power in Germany for 14 years. In France, the right now controls both the presidency and the National Assembly. The right is back in power in Spain. In Japan, the flirtation with any party other than the Liberal Democrats appears to be over.

Where the left retains a footing, as it does in Italy, Sweden and Canada, the parties are explicitly Clintonian in their determination to cut the old welfare systems, to hold down taxes and govern with a fiscal responsibility that seeks to avoid the vengeance of the bond markets.

The old left lost its coherence with the end of the cold war and the collapse of the Soviet Union. Social democrats may have despised the Soviet model, but its very existence represented a boundary line of the ideologically tolerable. The Kremlin's wretched system allowed the moderate left to define itself by what they were not.

Moreover the traditional urban working class which sustained the Labour and social democratic parties is not what it was, thanks in large part to the success of those parties in establishing meritocratic structures of mass education and social safety nets. They fulfilled their historical purpose by taming the old savagery of the pre-war capitalist systems, and for 20 years and more they have been casting around for a new role.

For better or worse, Clinton is now defining what the new role of the liberal-left should be. To understand it, there is no better guide than Al From, the director of the Democratic Leadership Council, the centrist vehicle which he, Clinton and the mainly Southern moderate Democrats built after Walter Mondale's defeat of 1984, and which became Clinton's vehicle to the presidency. From, a veteran of the Carter White House, has been steadily constructing a New Democrat ideology.

From defines the party's constituency as "those who are aspiring to get into the middle class, and those who are struggling to stay there". From also provided Clinton with the thought that became a fixture of Clinton's speeches, that "the government's responsibility is to provide opportunity — the responsibility of the people is to make the most of it".

"Even a heavy Democratic vote in the cities can no longer carry a Democrat to the White House" is From's perception. "So Democrats need to make inroads into the suburban vote without turning their backs on the cities. This will require radical new approaches that transcend the old urban-suburban divide. Putting new dollars into old programmes won't do. To sell in the suburbs, these new approaches must meet three criteria. They must be entrepreneurial, non-bureaucratic, cost-effective and results-oriented. They must inspire responsibility and self-sufficiency among the beneficiaries. And finally, they must be universal."

With that in mind, consider last week's assembly line of new legislation. The welfare reform which Clinton signed into law on Thursday was passed with Republican support. It fulfils Clinton's 1992 campaign promise "to end welfare as we know it" by imposing a two-year time limit on the amount of time welfare benefits will be paid, and a requirement that the recipient be prepared to work.

It also ends, after 61 years, a basic principle of the New Deal of President Franklin Roosevelt, that in the last resort the federal government will intervene to feed impoverished mothers and children. At the same time, the responsibility for administering welfare is shifted from the federal government to the individual states.

"It is an incredibly black mark," commented Senator Chris Dodd, chairman of the Democratic party and the man who will formally nominate Clinton for re-election this week. "There are 4 million kids on welfare in this country, and you and I well know who is going to end up with the short end of the stick."

The welfare bill, which enjoys more than 70 per cent support in the opinion polls, was passed with Republican votes — and over the objections of Democrats who sent an open letter to the White House, fearing its result would be "millions of children sleeping on grates".

Clinton was able to get away with this, and to fend off any serious rebellion within his party, because of the two other laws he signed into force. In a carefully orchestrated rhythm designed to build the momentum to this week's convention, he enacted on Tuesday the new Minimum Wage Act.

Few had ever thought he could reconcile the Republican Congress to this measure, which raises the minimum wage from $4.25 to $5.15 an hour. The House majority leader, the inveterate free marketeer Congressman Dick Armey of Texas, said it would pass "only over my dead body". But Clinton prevailed.



On Wednesday, he enacted the Kennedy-Kassebaum health reform bill, which achieves the more popular measures of his and Hillary's abortive and far grander health reform plan. Named after its Senate sponsors, Edward Kennedy and the Republican Nancy Kassebaum, it guarantees that no worker will lose health insurance through changing or losing a job. It also prevents the insurance companies from refusing to cover people with a pre-existing medical condition. This resolves what had been, for most working Americans, the two main problems of their system, that they could lose health insurance when they needed it most.

It does nothing for the 35 million people, mostly the poor, who do not have health insurance. They are left to the tender mercies of Medicaid, the now-tattered and underfunded health safety net for the poor, and to the charity of the emergency rooms of the big hospitals.

STILL, there was also Clinton's long-overdue declaration that tobacco is indeed a drug and should be regulated as one, with strict controls on its advertising and sales to minors. This is probably the most cost-effective public health programme that government could devise, even though its payoff will be some time in the distant future. Clinton being Clinton, the announcement had a clear political motive: it forced his Republican rival back on the defensive while reminding the public of Bob Dole's reliance on the tobacco industry for campaign funds and his foolish muttering that he still wasn't sure tobacco was addictive.

Tobacco aside, the three separate measures which Clinton enacted all share one characteristic, a curiously Victorian distinction between those in work and those without; between what we might call the deserving and the undeserving poor. Once in work, health insurance is guaranteed, and the minimum wage will be boosted to barely tolerable levels. Once out if it, the welfare safety net will no longer catch very many, nor sustain those for longer than two years.

The other two most progressive pieces of legislation which Clinton has enacted both follow this pattern. Passed in 1993, the Family Leave Act, guarantees those in work time off to care for a sick child or dependant. Shortly afterwards came the Earned Income Tax Rebate, one of the best Clinton reforms, which now benefits some 25 million Americans. It guarantees in effect that the working poor should pay no tax — and qualify for tax credits — until their incomes reach a threshold which for families comes close to the average industrial wage.

Again, the gap is clear in the Clinton ideology, between those in work, who deserve and receive the state's help in incomes and services, and those without work, who don't. There is a moralism that underlies the Clinton project, a glorification of work which goes back to Clinton's 1992 campaign speeches when he asserted that "the best welfare programme is a job".

There is also a pattern here. The main thrust of Clinton's foreign policy has been slowly to replace the old cold war system of American global leadership based on military power, with a new commercial strategy of America as the linchpin and guarantor of a global market of free-trading democracies. This has helped the US under Clinton to become the world's leading exporter – the US exported more than 12 per cent of its gross domestic product last year, compared with 9.5 per cent of Japan's GDP.

This has important social implications. There are 250 million Americans, and the top 100 million, those in households headed by someone with a degree, have the skills and training to do well in the furious competitive environment of the new global economy.

The bottom 50 million, which includes the underclass, those on welfare, the illegal immigrants and many of the unemployed, appear to be almost abandoned under the Clinton model. They have become what Karl Marx called a lumpenproletariat, and what few flimsy ladders had been erected to help them clamber out are being kicked aside.

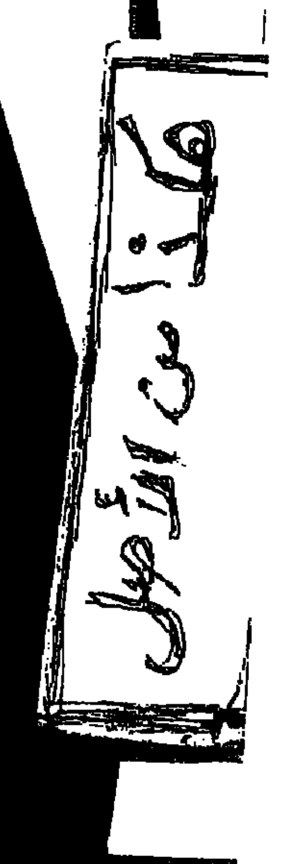
The 100 million Americans in the middle, who are finding it increasingly hard to afford the college loans or the mortgage payments that would help their climb, have traditionally been the bedrock Democratic vote. For them Clinton's campaign promises of college loan programmes and lifetime education and job training are little more than placebos.

We have seen this social model before, of a small top layer of the ridiculously rich, and a large and comfortable upper middle class doing well in a global economy, while a sullen and restive lumpenproletariat seethes in the depths. These two layers of the comfortable and the undeserving poor bracket a large and problematic class of the working and the respectable, whose strong religiosity offers them the only comfort against job insecurity and falling incomes.

This is close to the kind of social system which developed in late Victorian and Edwardian Britain, the last time that society made a clear distinction between the deserving and the undeserving poor. And like Clinton's America, that society too suffered from its inability to distinguish between deserving and undeserving children.

Roosevelt understood that, which was why the New Deal was fashioned as it was. In his determination to make his party electable, Clinton has surrendered not just a principle of the New Deal, but its heart. And if they follow him down that path, then the rest of the world's liberal-left parties are in danger of losing their soul.

Washington Post, page 15
Larry Elliott, page 19



Kampala faces new prophet of doom

They emerge from the forests to kill villagers and snatch youngsters. The girls are married off and raped. Their victims say the Lord's Resistance Army is doing the Devil's work. **Robin Denselow** reports

MAJOR-GENERAL Salim Saleh peered through his Ray-Bans and pointed out beyond the army base to the green plains that stretch northwards from the little town of Gulu towards the Sudanese border. "Yes, he's out there," he said. "Maybe 15 kilometres away. He's around. His raiders are hiding out in the swamps and the forests. Will he attack Gulu again?" he shrugged. "It's possible. Aren't you frightened staying around here?"

In the early eighties, the general played a key role in the "liberation war" against Milton Obote. Now his half-brother, Uganda's President Yoweri Museveni, has recalled him from life as a businessman (current interests: airline food, publishing, gold prospecting) to lead the fight against a very different guerrilla leader who has brought chaos and a peculiarly brutal brand of terrorism to northern Uganda.

The man Saleh is determined to track down is Joseph Kony, a former Catholic altar boy and herbalist who targets civilians rather than the military, and specialises in the mass abduction of teenagers and even children, of both sexes. He has acquired a mythical status among local people who believe the stories of his supernatural powers as leader of the so-called Lord's Resistance Army.

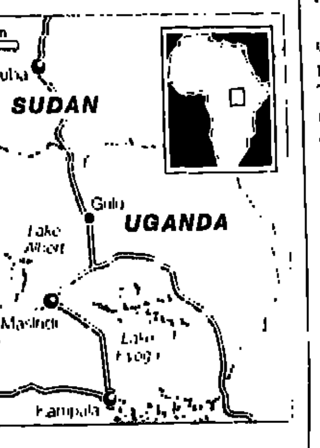
"They should be called the Devil's Resistance Army," said the general. "Everyone in the district except me seems to believe in witchcraft. Their prisoners are killed if they don't accept his ideas. Even the girls he takes are taught to fight, and are married off and raped. The people are scared. They've killed 50 or 60 people in the last week."

Five miles outside town, the latest victims had been laid out along the roadside. Eleven villagers were killed overnight, apparently because they had refused LRA orders not to live so close to the highway. Some had been shot, others hacked to death with a hoe.

One old woman had been spared but ordered to set fire to her own hut, which was now a smouldering pile of ashes. Her two sons had been taken away by the rebels. She said she didn't know how she could go on living.

President Museveni hoped he had finished with religious-inspired uprisings in the north after the defeat of the Holy Spirit Movement, led by the "prophetess" Alice Lakwena, who devastated the region during her rebellion in 1987. Kony, said to be her cousin, picked up where she had left off, took control of the remnants of her forces and began an even more brutal campaign.

He has been helped by the traditional hostility of the Acholi people to the Kampala government and by terror tactics he appears to have learned in south Sudan, where he trains forces. Here, in the vast, lawless region that marks the border between black Africa and the Arab north, where there has been fighting for decades between different rebel militias and the Sudanese government, there has also been a history of child abduction.



Kony has made such abduction the basis of the terror campaign. Over the past three years, thousands of young people have been captured from villages and schools in the area around Gulu and forced to join him. His current raids — the most devastating so far — are believed to be carried out by enforced conscripts he captured last August. His aim, according to the Ugandan military, is to capture 10,000 more. In the last three weeks he has already succeeded in abducting several hundred, who are now being marched back towards Sudan.

Sixteen-year-old Beatrice Atim is lucky she's not among them. On the night of July 25 she was asleep when the rebels surrounded her dormitory in the little mission school of St Mary's College, out in the countryside 8km from Gulu. The girls were ordered out at gunpoint and taken down to the town, where the raiders stole salt and crates of soda. The girls were told to carry them, on their heads, as they were taken north towards the Sudan border.

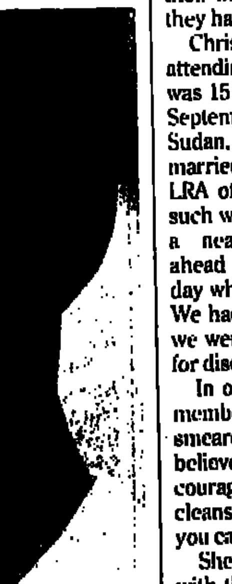
Some managed to escape during an attack by helicopter gunships of the Ugandan People's Defence Force. Others — including Beatrice — were simply abandoned in the bush because they were incapable of walking further. This is not the usual LRA practice. Most who can't keep up are killed.

Now, back in class and dressed in her blue and white school uniform, Beatrice said she was frightened the rebels would come back. Eleven of her class-mates who didn't get away are still out there with them.

Their prospects are not good, according to Aldo Ocen, the "community mobiliser" at the World Vision Trauma Centre in Gulu, which offers counselling and help for those who manage to escape from the LRA. Some 1,200 young people, aged between eight and 22, have been treated here since the centre opened 17 months ago, in a little compound on top of a hill overlooking the plains that stretch towards the Sudanese border. It's not the ideal place for therapy, with the rebels still just a few kilometres away. But Aldo's current group of 169 "clients" are grateful that here, at least, there are Ugandan soldiers to guard them.

All have horrific stories to tell. Aldo says that one in five has been involved in killings, usually of fellow abductees who tried to escape. They were forced to beat their fellow prisoners to death with sticks and stones or else be killed themselves. "And after that they enter a different world where killing doesn't matter. They know they've committed a crime and they don't want to go back to the government side. Then they are ready for the rebels' military training.

"The girls have the worst psychological problems. They are forced to have sex with the LRA commanders, to cook for them and act as their wives — but never eat the food they have prepared."



Badlands . . . Christine Anena was one of those who got away after being abducted by the LRA but she still can't escape her memories

Christine Anena is one of those attending the trauma classes. She was 15 when she was abducted last September and taken to southern Sudan, where she was "forced to be married like a wife" to one of the LRA officers. "He had three other such wives besides me," she said in a near-whisper, staring blankly ahead of her, "and we each had a day when we had to sleep with him. We had to do what we were told or we were beaten. People were killed for disobeying military orders."

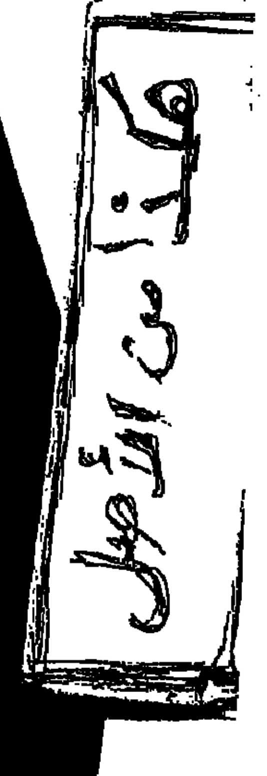
In one of the rituals that all LRA members must go through, she was smeared with shea nut oil: "They believe it gives you strength and courage and makes you holy. It cleanses you like a holy spirit, and you can fight without fear."

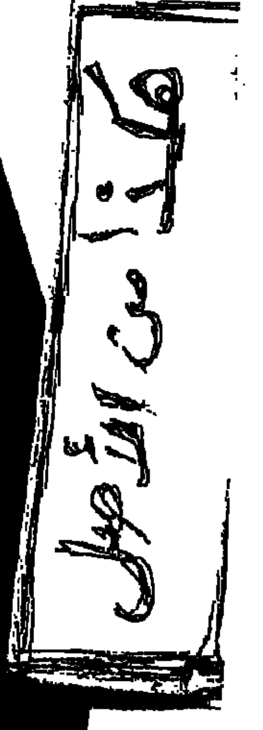
She was involved in skirmishes with the SPLA, the guerrilla militia fighting the Sudanese government in south Sudan, and in "looting and burning people's houses like a robber. I don't know if I killed anyone." She escaped when the LRA brought her back to Uganda in May. She too was still terrified "because the LRA always vowed they would recapture any deserters".

As the killings and abductions continue, there's a danger that this could become an international conflict. The Ugandans accuse the Sudanese of helping the LRA, just as the Sudanese government accuses the Ugandans of helping the SPLA in south Sudan. Both claims are almost certainly accurate.

The Ugandans' latest weapon in their propaganda battle against Khartoum is policeman Benson Ojera, who was abducted last August and was chosen by Kony as his trusted personal bodyguard. Ojera escaped back to the Ugandan side last month. If his eyewitness accounts are correct, the Sudanese have provided Kony with weapons, food and medicine — though not direct military training.

President Museveni, clearly embarrassed by the continuing rebel attacks, has already sent his half-brother 5,000 ex-servicemen who have been recalled to join the estimated 12,000 troops already stationed around Gulu. General Saleh is under pressure to get results. He admits, privately, that as a soldier he'd like to chase the LRA when they cross back to Sudan "but that's not the policy yet — the government really has to think about that. The LRA will go on killing until they are killed."





The Week in Britain James Lewis

Hospital video fails to win clean bill of health

THE SALE of a home video, purporting to show surgical operations carried out on National Health Service patients, was halted by the High Court on the day of its intended release. The Health Minister, Gerald Malone, obtained an interim injunction banning its sale and distribution pending a full hearing into how it came to be made.

The 53-minute tape shows penile and breast implants, explicit shots of gynaecological procedures and a vasectomy, as well as other operations such as joint replacement, bowel removal, gall bladder treatment and plastic surgery. Its makers, IMC Video, claimed that its motives were educational, and that patients who funded the NHS through their taxes were entitled to see what happened in hospitals.

Surgical procedures are commonly filmed for training purposes, with the consent of patients. David Donogue, speaking for IMC Video, said the footage had been obtained from the medical teams who had filmed the operations.

However, Guy Howard, of the Patients' Association, said the consent of patients to filming should not be taken to include consent to the commercial sale of the film. Vivienne Nathanson, head of ethics for the British Medical Association, described the video as "deeply distasteful and very worrying".

STRINGENT maximum levels for air pollution to safeguard health were set by the Environment Secretary, John Gummer. But the minister was accused of passing the buck by failing to provide extra resources for the local authorities who will be required to achieve the new targets.

Mr Gummer's new National Air Quality Strategy acknowledged that road traffic was the main cause of pollution, and said there needed to be changes in planning and transport policies to reduce reliance on the car. But it did not specify the changes necessary, and Mr Gummer suggested only that the privatisation of railways would somehow help to get more passengers and freight off the roads.

Tougher European Union vehicle emission standards will be central to reducing the levels of eight air pollutants by 2005. The costs of doing so — mainly by improving catalytic converters — are expected to push up the price of a small car by about £180, and to add to shop prices because of higher transport costs.

New powers to be given to local authorities may allow them to impose heavy taxes on non-resident car parking, to ban "dirty" buses from certain streets, and to stop cars and test their emissions. Mr Gummer can also empower them to close roads when pollution levels are particularly high, but is unlikely to do so because it would aggravate traffic jams and shift the pollution to other areas.

Comment, page 12

BRITISH GAS, ordered by the industry's regulator to cut bills to consumers by an average £28 a year, predictably protested that the cut represented "the seizure of shareholders' income on an unprecedented scale" and threatened to cut up to 10,000 jobs. The regulator, Clare Spottiswoode, insisted that tough new price controls be imposed on Transco, the profitable pipelines division, the charges of which account for 43 per cent of the average domestic gas bill. Her decision was heralded by the Gas Consumers' Council as "regulation with a Robin Hood flavour" that would redress the balance between 18 million customers and the 2 million shareholders who had enjoyed high dividends since the industry was privatised.

The privatised electricity generators, National Power and PowerGen, also came under fire from Ken Prior, chairman of the committee made up of the heads of the regional electricity consumer committees. He complained that although PowerGen had cut its costs by 40 per cent, these efficiency savings had yet to be felt by consumers. Both PowerGen and National Power should be referred to the Monopolies and Mergers Commission for failing to pass on the benefits of falling costs, and National Power should be broken up into smaller units to foster competition.

Although the utility regulators are formally independent of the Government, they are suspected, with an election pending, of acting on orders from the Tories to lower prices and make privatisation more popular with voters.

GUN-OWNERS hired a public relations firm that advised them to improve their public image in order to beat an expected attempt by the Government to ban the ownership of handguns. They were told to drop camouflage gear on shooting ranges, not to use "humanoid" shooting targets, and to wear collars and ties for television interviews.

The aim of the Shooting Sports Council, representing 10 separate gun groups, is to persuade voters, MPs and the media that lawful gun ownership is essential to the "safe, healthy and classless" sport of shooting — despite tragedies like the Dunblane massacre in which a licensed gun-owner killed 16 children and their teacher in a Scottish school.

Its case, echoing that of the powerful US gun lobby, is that "guns are not dangerous, provided they are in the right hands".

Austin

THE PR PEOPLE DREAMED UP THE NEW TARGETS.

Girls aged 12 'fed to paedophiles'

Maggie O'Kane

A PIONEERING project dealing with child sex abuse in Bradford has found that children as young as 12 are being kept prisoner, tortured and pushed on to the streets as prostitutes to feed the growing demand of Britain's paedophiles.

The charity Barnardos went public last week on the extent of child abuse, child rape and assault, based on case studies of girls aged 12 to 17 forced to work as prostitutes in Bradford.

The findings were released in the same week that the charity Save the Children warned of a worldwide expansion of the child sex industry.

Sarah Swann, head of the Bradford project, said the hidden torture and abuse of children was going on all over Britain. "It's not on the streets; it's hidden and it's everywhere."

The project has come across cases that include a girl aged 15 locked in a flat for 2¼ years and forced to use a sink and a cardboard box as a toilet *(see story below)*, and a girl of 14 burned with cigarette butts and raped by her pimp and his two friends when she tried to hide £10 of her takings.

Twenty-seven of the girls said they had been raped, and reported men asking: "Where are the 11- and 12-year-olds?" Older girls told Barnardos that they bought vest and knicker sets in Marks and Spencer to attract men who wanted to have sex with children.

In the last year of the project, 45 girls attending the Barnardos centre who had been forced into prostitution included three girls aged 13, 12 aged 14, and 13 aged 15. The youngest was 12.

Methods of torture and control included burning breasts with cigarettes, beatings with a crowbar and gang rape. Three of the girls had attempted suicide and almost all were seriously under-nourished or anorexic.

"I've read all this fuss about Thailand, the Philippines and the sex trade and now this stuff in Belgium, but what we're saying is that this is happening all over Britain," Ms Swann said last week.

One of the biggest problems was that "we can't make up our mind about sex and children. The models are getting younger and younger, so are we saying sex is OK with a 10-year-old? What's the message?"

On the streets of Bradford they have already got the message. "I do very, very well out there," said one 17-year-old put on the streets when she was 13. "I look really young. I wear little black strappy shoes and the punters love it."

The girls were "incredibly vulnerable", said Ms Swann. "The pimps are older, have smart cars, and they push the girls on to the game to prove their love, to get nice things for the flat."

The physical violence and imprisonment came later. "I had one girl whose arms were the size of my wrist. She was like a china doll, and he was beating her with a crowbar."

Barnardos went public with their first report after months of internal debate about what to do with their findings.

Barnardos is calling for an urgent parliamentary working party on child abuse to be set up. It wants the child recognised as a victim and not seen as a criminal. In Ms Swann's words, it wants to see the beginning of the long process of educating men that "it's not OK to have sex with children".

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Locked up and forced to sell sex

An 18-year-old tells **Maggie O'Kane** of her three-year ordeal as a child prostitute

HER room measured 4m by 4m, from the blue lino of the corridor to the window under the roof. It had a bed, a wardrobe and a view that looked out over the golden tips of a mosque. Under her window, there was a car park and a car repair shop.

Her work as a prostitute in Bradford did not begin until 6pm when she was unlocked from her room by her pimp, ready for the men who leave their city offices and stop off on their way home for tea to buy sex from children.

Her story is the story of hundreds, perhaps thousands of British children exposed by a pioneering Barnardos project.

When a new landlord took over the premises two months ago, he repainted her attic room to take away the lingering smell of urine and human waste. When she was locked up she used the sink to urinate in and a cardboard box in the corner for her toilet.

She was 15 when she was locked into the room, over 17 when she left it. During those two years she was taken out only at night to sell sex by the deserted mills of Thornton Road and Preston Steet.

Nights went on until she had £200 to give her pimp; ten punters at £20 for full sex, £15 for oral sex and £15 for masturbation.

She would be returned to the room in the early hours after her pimp had taken all the money.

She was sold to her first punter at 15. She remembers him, and the pain he caused. But, after that, it got easier. Her pimp even brought the clothes he wanted her to wear — short, transparent dresses and skirts.

Life for many girls on the streets includes rape and beatings by pimps PHOTOGRAPH: STEVE FORREST

The routine in her attic room never varied. She slept for most of the morning, waking to watch the men moving towards the mosque at 1pm for prayers. She watched Neighbours; once her pimp brought her a big thick colouring book and crayons.

Now she is a shaky 18-year-old who drinks lime pop, wears pink midrift bare T-shirts, likes listening to those old ballads about love and has been raped four times.

She escaped on November 2 after leaving a note in her sister's social welfare book on which she had written: "Help me."

She heard later that her pimp had got a new girl who was 15. Now, she would like to see him buried, but he is too big and his friends would get to her if she told the police.

Her journey to the attic of one of those scruffy yellow Yorkshire stone houses began when she was drunk at a party and had sex with Dealer, a Pakistani drugs dealer. She met Dealer afterwards but he did not want to know. A month before she was due to give birth he said that he loved her and that she should go to his mother's house.

She gave birth to a daughter, now three, in the front room with his mother, sister, aunt and granny to help her. There was no midwife or doctor at the birth, which was never registered.

After the birth, the baby was taken away. Everyone said it was the best thing because she was "too poorly". She spent 3½ weeks waiting to see the baby.

Dealer's sister said she had registered the baby as hers and her baby was going to Pakistan — all the stuff Dealer had told her about loving her and wanting to take care of her and the baby was wrong.

She was feeling a bit soft when she met her pimp on Skinner's Lane. He said she was lovely and kept hassling her for her address. He was in his 20s and good looking. He listened and was very understanding when she explained about her baby.

He said he was going to help her get her baby back. He found her the attic flat with the view of the golden-tipped mosque, a garage repair shop and a car park.

He was careful when he beat her with the dumb bell weights he got from the Argos catalogue; careful, that he always got her in the stomach or back — places where it did not show.

Her foster mother sent the police round once but he stood behind the door and she told the police that she was fine.

Her pimp would want sex from her as well as his other girls. He gave her something called chlamydia — a word she cannot quite pronounce — and now her tubes are messed up and she cannot have any more babies. That is why she would like to find her baby and why she is telling her story — so the same thing will not happen to other girls.

Britain evaded BSE checks for Europe

John Hooper

THE Ministry of Agriculture secretly avoided implementing a Brussels ruling designed to stop bovine spongiform encephalopathy (BSE) spreading to the Continent. As a result, almost 2 million cattle were sold to Britain's European Union partners without checks to see if they had been born to cows infected with the disease.

Under the 1990 EU Commission ruling, the ministry was meant to make full use of computer records to weed out animals that could have inherited BSE, mad cow disease.

Confidential instructions set out in an internal circular show that instead the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food (Maff) issued its civil servants with secret orders saying they could skip computer vetting of 90 per cent of calves in the vast majority of consignments to EU countries.

The Ministry of Agriculture acknowledged that the guidelines remained in force from "on or about June 8, 1990" until August 1995. In March this year, the EU banned British beef over concerns that BSE could spread to humans.

The Government's ruse has alarming implications for the spread of BSE, particularly in the light of recent findings on maternal transmission.

An investigation into the suspended trade in live cattle has also shown that the Commission, for its part, never asked continental slaughterhouses to keep some of the most potentially dangerous offal from British calves from entering the food chain — even though Britain had done so for its abattoirs.

The EU Agricultural Commissioner, Franz Fischler, admitted in July: "There has been no specified bovine offal ban in place in member states specifically covering the veal calves originating in the United Kingdom."

After the first "mad cow" scare, in June 1990, the Commission did, however, impose restrictions on Britain as a condition for continuing the lucrative sale of live veal calves to the Continent. One of these was "full use of computer records to guarantee identification of animals".

Under the system exporters were required to fax details of animals for export to an animal health office. There, the details would be entered into a computer to verify identity and see if any of the animals had been born to cows in which BSE had been suspected or confirmed.

Animal Health Circular 93/114 ordered 100 per cent verification of the relatively small numbers of cattle sent abroad for breeding. But it said that for the 1,000-2,000 head a year going directly to slaughter, and for the far greater numbers of veal calves sent for fattening only "a sample of ear tag numbers are entered".

Veal calves accounted for more than 97 per cent of live cattle exports to the EU in the last year before exports were suspended.

The ministry insists Britain "met its obligation not to send to other [EU] member states progeny of cows in which BSE is suspected or confirmed by requiring exporters to sign statements that calves intended for export are not the offspring of cows in which BSE is suspected or confirmed."

A senior Commission spokesman said EU inspectors found in August last year that the ministry was carrying out computer checks in line with rules agreed in 1990 — but, ministry officials have now admitted, it was in 1990 that they changed the guidelines.

The implications in Europe of the latest revelation are likely to be serious.

● The German government advised consumers last week not to buy British lamb in case it carried an infection similar to BSE. The statement falls short of an official ban but could have a devastating effect on British sheep farmers. Almost 5,000 tonnes of British lamb and mutton is sold in Germany every year.

A policeman seeks help from the public in the search for Jodi and Tom Loughlin, aged six and four, who went missing last weekend on a Norfolk beach. The search was called off after three days. It is almost certain that the children were swept out to sea at the start of a holiday intended to help their father Kevin, aged 37, convalesce after successful treatment for cancer PHOTOGRAPH: JASON MITCHELL

Rape trial ordeal prompts reform call

Hannah Pool

JULIA MASON, who was forced to endure six days of cross-examination in court by the man who raped her, is leading calls for changes in the law to prevent other women suffering a similar ordeal.

Mrs Mason, who has waived her right to anonymity in the hope that no other woman has to face her attacker in court, intends to start a campaign to have the law changed.

Ralston Edwards, aged 42, was found guilty at London's Old Bailey on two counts of rape. Police observers said he had appeared to gain gratification when questioning the 34-year-old woman, after he had opted to defend himself during his trial. He has a long record of rape and violence to women.

Mrs Mason, who has two children, joined lawyers, court workers, police and women's groups in calling on the Government to change the law which allowed Edwards to humiliate her.

On one occasion Mrs Mason had run from the courtroom, physically sick, and on another she left the Old Bailey in tears. She now depends on sleeping tablets and valium.

"I was raped once by Edwards and again by the British justice system," she was reported as saying in the Daily Mail. "To male politicians, I would urge them to swiftly change the law with regard to rape victims. For God's sake and for women's sake may this never happen again."

Edwards, of Catford, south-east London, was found not guilty on two other charges of raping her over a 16-hour period. He will be sentenced later this month after psychiatric reports.

Judge Ann Goddard, describing him as dangerous, told him she was considering a life sentence.

Detective Sergeant Milne Davidson, who led the investigation, supported calls for a change in the law. He said after the case: "He enjoyed every minute of it — reliving it all in detail. No doubt he was getting some kind of sexual gratification and pleasure from it. He is very cunning and into domination."

After Edwards exercised his right to defend himself, Judge Goddard gave him considerable leeway to avoid giving him grounds for appeal. She told the jury: "The rules have been somewhat flexible during the case." He forced his victim to relive her rape in minute detail, but she tried to answer every question. Mrs Mason once said: "I don't think you appreciate the terror you are putting me through."

The ordeal prompted concern from victims' groups and politicians. Some called for trial procedures to be changed to mirror those introduced if defendants conducting their own defence were due to cross-examine a child. The Criminal Justice Act 1991 banned such questioning.

Helen Peggs, a spokeswoman for Victim Support, said: "We are very concerned about the implications of this case. Many witnesses in rape cases have told us that the idea of seeing or being seen by the defendant in court is an intimidating and humiliating one and it is not uncommon for women to ask whether they can give evidence from behind screens. The prospect not only of facing the defendant, but being subject to cross-examination by him in court must be terrifying beyond belief."

It later emerged that Mrs Mason had her home firebombed shortly before the trial was due to start.

She and her boyfriend, Billy Power, were in their then home in Catford, south London, when a petrol bomb was thrown through the window by Paul Cunningham five months ago.

Cunningham, aged 20, a former boyfriend of Mrs Mason's, was sentenced to five years in a young offender's institution.

Refugee agencies warn that people 'face living in tents'

James Meikle

ASYLUM seekers stripped of benefits and housing rights may soon live in tented villages while the Home Office considers their applications to stay in this country, say refugee organisations.

The Refugee Council, which is to open a special night shelter in central London this month, said some people were already sleeping rough and 80 people a day were using a centre in the capital to collect food parcels and basics such as nappies.

Up to 10,000 people may be affected by the benefit cuts, first introduced in February, and 2,000 housed temporarily by councils may lose shelter under rule changes.

Councils are beginning to evict single asylum seekers but confusion and apparent lack of co-ordination between the Home Office and the departments of social security, health and environment has led to a surge in people seeking help.

The curbs affect asylum seekers who fail to apply for refugee status on arrival in this country and those who are appealing against a rejection of their application.

Rights to housing were withdrawn this week, and the Refugee Council and the charity Shelter last month lost a High Court attempt to stop councils applying the changes retrospectively. Asylum seekers also face eviction from bed and breakfast hotels because councils will no longer pay their bills.

Nick Hardwick, director of the Refugee Council, said: "Some people are still able to stay with friends or within their communities but increasingly we think people are going on to the streets . . . Some communities are saying to us we need to establish camps with tents for people to stay. People are scared. They don't understand the rules. It is an appalling reflection on our society."

Officials said the number of asylum applications had dropped sharply recently.

Hollywood 'ban' on Major's Oscars

HOLLYWOOD movie moguls have taken a strong and unfortunately legalistic dislike to the British government over its well-meaning attempts to reward public service under the Citizen's Charter, *writes Ian Black.*

Downing Street has ordered all departments to refrain from future use of the word "Oscar" after complaints by the US Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Science — who dish out those coveted golden statuettes.

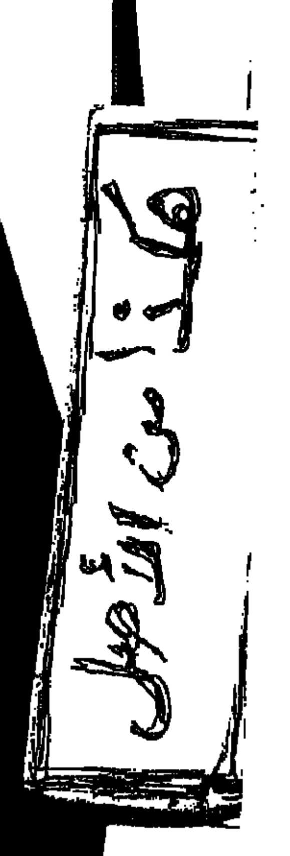
Hollywood, proving again that there really is no business like show business, got upset when the publicity for last year's Charter Mark awards used the phrase "Public Service Oscars", and ordered its British agent to protest about trade mark infringement.

The threat of legal action was so serious that the Treasury Solicitor — the Government's lawyers — has formally ordered the Citizen's Charter unit to undertake not to use the marks "Oscar" or "Academy Awards", whether presented to the public or private sector.

US objections may have arisen because the British Oscars are so unglamorous. The Charter Mark, one of the flagships of John Major's Citizen's Charter, is described as "a chance to thank people who work in public services — from nurses and teachers to librarians and binmen".

The British Oscars scheme was launched in 1992. There are 414 companies and organisations providing a direct service to the public which are entitled to display the seal of approval for three years.

The Hollywood Oscars are so called because when the statue was first struck in 1927 a secretary said: "It reminds me of my Uncle Oscar." Latest winners include Mel Gibson, Emma Thompson, Nicolas Cage and Susan Sarandon.



GUARDIAN WEEKLY
September 1 1996

Storm over Saatchi peerage

Michael White

JOHN MAJOR last week precipitated a fresh storm over the ethics of political patronage and negative electioneering when he awarded a peerage to Maurice Saatchi, the advertising tycoon behind the "demonic eyes" poster campaign against New Labour.

To compound the felony among indignant Opposition MPs and officials, the Prime Minister gave a second "working peerage" to Peter Gummer, the younger brother of the Environment Secretary and another key Tory insider.

As chairman of the giant Shandwick public relations firm, he is — like the new Lord Saatchi and Sir Tim Bell — one of the three wise men advising on Conservative election tactics in the crucial months ahead. In recent weeks even some Tory MPs have become alarmed by their negative tone.

Denouncing the duo as Lords of the Lies, Labour's Frank Dobson declared that "no coronet and ermine will cover up Maurice Saatchi and Peter Gummer's role in dragging British politics lower than the gutter".

The announcement contained 12 other working peers — half of them nominated by the Labour and Liberal Democrat parties. These included Labour-sponsored life baronies for Sir Richard Rogers, the architect, and for Liz Symons, head of the senior Whitehall officials union. Paddy Ashdown nominated John Alderdice, the Alliance Party leader in Northern Ireland.

Life peerages also go to two figures from the ethnic minorities. John Taylor, the black barrister who failed to hold Cheltenham against a racist undertow in 1992, is on Mr Major's list.

Tony Blair nominated Swraj Paul, the Punjabi-born steel magnate and philanthropist. The new Lord Paul, aged 65, is donating around £50,000 a year to Labour and was once a Tory donor.

Though Labour is pledged to reform the Lords by depriving 750 hereditary peers of their votes, it and the Liberal Democrats are always short of working peers. Nearly 500 peers take the Tory whip, barely 100 the Labour whip, and fewer than 60 the Lib Dem whip.

Outrage followed the announcement of the Saatchi-Gummer awards. "It's the crassest, crudest, most maladroit move I have seen in a long time," said one senior Labour MP.

Maurice Saatchi is blamed for the focus on Labour and Mr Blair's "untrustworthiness".

Mr Dobson said: "This announcement confirms that John Major has given his personal seal of approval for the most negative election campaign ever."

Mr Gummer is targeted as a shadowy figure behind efforts to trumpet revived economic success and for working to discredit such Labour plans as the windfall tax.

Labour's attack drew an angry response from Defence Secretary Michael Portillo: "As is normal in our constitutional arrangements, the Prime Minister has not sought to query the Labour nominees and the Conservative party will not attack them," he said.

"Frank Dobson's incontinent attack on the Conservative nominations is unprecedented and disgraceful. If Mr Blair retains any concern for the proprieties of the British constitution, he should sack Mr Dobson."

Cigarette giant's charitable way to develop in Third World

David Leigh and Jonathan Calvert

BRITISH-American Tobacco, the global cigarette corporation, is acquiring influence over the dispersal of British overseas aid as part of a campaign to protect its lucrative markets in the Third World. It is also funding several development charities.

BAT manufactures cigarettes in Britain, but under a long-standing arrangement only sells abroad, mainly to poorer countries where restrictions on the sale of cigarettes are fewer and public knowledge about the dangers of smoking is more limited.

The company faced a major setback in North America last month when its subsidiary, Brown and Williamson, lost one of a growing number of health lawsuits, helping to knock £3 billion off its share value. Another blow came with President Clinton's announcement of tough new restrictions on the sale of tobacco to under-age smokers on the grounds that nicotine is an addictive drug.

BAT remains confident of future profits from the developing world. An investigation has uncovered an extensive network of links between the company and international aid bodies, well-known charities and MPs, aimed at furthering its agenda in the developing world.

The links have been cemented by cash donations and fees and are part of the company's attempts to increase sales and head off controls on smoking across the world. The policy is working, and last year BAT increased its global cigarette sales by 18 per cent, making a massive 54 per cent increase in profits to £1.5 billion.

At the centre of BAT's overseas aid network is its new chairman, Lord Cairns. Last year he also became chairman of the Commonwealth Development Corporation (CDC), a quango which distributes £1.5 billion of investment to poor countries.

Although the CDC no longer invests in tobacco projects, there is often a close correlation between its international interests and those of the cigarette company:

❑ In Cuba, the CDC is offering aid money at the same time as BAT is gaining access for the first time to the cigarette market;

❑ In Thailand, the CDC is funding £45 million of projects while BAT, with Foreign Office help, is seeking to open up the market there.

Lord Cairns is also the chairman of the Overseas Development Institute, a Foreign Office-backed think tank influential in determining aid policies. In addition, he has long-standing links with VSO, which sends British volunteers overseas and receives £9,000 a year from BAT.

Lord Cairns's multiple roles were criticised by anti-smoking campaigner Pamela Furness, chief executive of pressure group Ash. She said: "His involvement compromises these organisations. The tobacco industry, which promotes a product that causes death and disease, is the antithesis of development."

Lord Cairns is liked by aid workers but his recent public efforts to play down the health risks of cigarettes have infuriated anti-smoking campaigners.

He wrote to David Pollock, former director of Ash: "I believe that smoking gives pleasure and it is not addictive . . . it has added to the quality of my life."

Among the links uncovered are connections between BAT and the MPs' parliamentary group specialising in aid issues. The chairman of the All-Party Group on Overseas Development is Conservative Sir James Lester. He is paid £10,000 a year by BAT as a consultant. Another member, Labour MP John Denham, holds an industrial fellowship to study BAT's operations.

It was reported last month that the government-funded Medical Research Council — the first body to show cigarettes kill smokers — has accepted £147,000 from BAT to study whether nicotine can help people at risk of Alzheimer's disease. — *The Observer*

Labour rules out reform of royal pay

A FUTURE Labour government would not permit effective "privatisation" of the monarchy by allowing the Queen to trade her Civil List payments for the revenues of the Crown Estate, *writes Michael White.*

A Blair-led government already committed to extensive constitutional reform — including devolution and ending hereditary voting rights in the Lords — would not welcome further controversy, and the Queen is committed to acting only by consensus.

After last month's revelation that the royal family's Way Ahead Group is considering reform options, opinion on Labour benches looks united in its desire to retain the limited parliamentary accountability that financial control provides.

On paper the abandonment of the £8.9 million Civil List and state payments totalling around £55 million a year, would be a good bargain in return for Crown Estate revenues given up in 1760 and now worth an annual £94.6 million before tax, for which it might become liable.

Financially it is inconceivable, and any publicity value would be offset by concern that the monarchy was privatising its assets.

Given the difficulty of achieving constitutional reform in Britain's unwritten system, both republican MPs — up to 40 per cent on the Labour side — and monarchical modernisers suspect the proposals will amount to little.

"If the monarchy is to survive, an incisive overhaul of its role and accountability is necessary. The big problem is how to achieve that without drawing it into the political arena. In that sense these suggestions are welcome even if they are prompted by a degree of panic," said former minister Alan Williams.

Sweet sell . . . The West End's aroma of bus fumes and sweaty shoppers was leavened by a twist of lemon from Britain's first odorous advertisement. An infra-red sensor detects passers-by and releases the smell from a box above the poster PHOTO: GARRY WEASER

Head teachers fear schools are rigging GCSE tables

John Carvel

HEAD teachers' leaders called for an official inquiry into this year's GCSE exams when it emerged that students sat tens of thousands fewer papers than expected, fuelling speculation that schools held back weak candidates to boost their position in the league tables.

The Government hailed the results as the best in the 10 years of the exam, with a 1 per cent rise in the proportion of passes at grade C or above — the equivalent of the old O level. There were better scores in the core subjects of maths and science, although performance in English was marginally down.

But the examination boards were unable to explain why subject entries increased by only 1.1 per cent when the population of 16-year-olds went up by 3.1 per cent.

A senior government adviser said the figures were consistent with 100,000 pupils being held back — about a sixth of the age group and almost three times the proportion who did not enter for the GCSE last year. Labour spokesmen, however, thought this a fanciful hypothesis.

It was just as likely that more candidates sat the GCSE, but entered fewer subjects. About 100,000 dropped technology after it was removed as a compulsory subject in the national curriculum, but the entry for the core subjects of English, maths and science rose in line with the expanding numbers of 16-year-olds.

David Hart, general secretary of the National Association of Head Teachers, called for an inquiry into the relative drop in entries. "There has to be a strong suspicion that pupils have not been entered because their results would have an adverse impact on the overall performance of a school and its league table position," he said.

Sir Rhodes Boyson, a former Conservative education minister, said the drop in entries could be "an unwanted effect of league tables".

But the Department for Education and Employment said there would be no benefit in schools holding back their weaker candidates. League tables showed passes above C grade as a proportion of the age group on the school roll and not as a proportion of candidates entering the exam.

Prof Alan Smithers, an examinations expert at Brunel University, said the figures may be explained by the decision to limit the compulsory national curriculum at ages 14 to 16 to English, maths, science and a foreign language. "It could well be that weaker candidates who do not think they will do well over the usual number of subjects are taking advantage of this and entering for fewer," he said.

Examination boards said a 30 per cent drop in entries for technology was probably caused by teachers reverting to subjects in which they felt more comfortable.

The GCSE technology exam had been unpopular with teachers after frequent changes in syllabus, and the number of candidates sitting it fell from 349,971 in 1995 to 245,132 this year. The proportion passing at grade C or above increased by 1.7 percentage points to 45.8. The biggest growth area was home economics where the number of candidates increased by 77 per cent to 97,340.

Other big increases were recorded in entries for business studies (up 33.4 per cent), computing and information systems (13.1 per cent), music (11.2 per cent) and art and design (7.7 per cent). There was also a revival in the traditional single science subjects. Entries for physics, chemistry and biology each increased by about 6 per cent.

● Many children leaving primary school have not attained the level in reading, writing and arithmetic expected of seven-year-olds, according to a study by John Marks, a right-wing member of the School Curriculum and Assessment Authority.

The report shows the average 11-year-old is nearly two years behind the expected standard in maths. Gillian Shephard, the Education and Employment Secretary, said the report vindicated her decision this year to publish national tables showing how every primary school performed in tests at 11.

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Prison chaos after releases

continued from page 1

Secretary who interferes morning, noon and night. What you have here is a classic Home Office-driven interference to which the Prison Service responded, but which got out of control," he said.

In the face of widespread scepticism, shared by opposition MPs, the official Home Office line remains that ministers would have been told at some stage but that they were not told in this instance.

Mr Howard has said he knew there was a problem with the law, but not that the decision had been taken. MPs are certain to want to probe the grey area that may exist between those two statements.

Mr Tilt, aged 52, who has said he sees no reason to resign from the £90,000-a-year post he took up four months ago, arrived on Monday at the Prison Service headquarters, Cleland House, after flying home from a holiday he began only last week.

He had left behind a memo for Mr Howard — just back from his own break — flagging up issues which might "attract some attention", including an unspecified number of early releases.

Tory MPs, including Nicholas Winterton and Warren Hawksley, a member of the Commons home affairs select committee, have voiced suspicions that Mr Howard could have been "set up" by the Prison Service. His offence, MPs suggest, is being the toughest law and order home secretary for a generation.

The Prison Service confirmed that governors were told last month that, after a report from a working party, prisoners serving consecutive sentences are entitled to have the time they spent on remand awaiting trial counted for each separate offence. Thus a prisoner jailed for three consecutive three-year sentences — a total of nine years — who spent a year in jail awaiting trial would be deemed to have served three years, not the current one, before his sentence started.

A Prison Service spokeswoman denied the changes had anything to do with over-crowded jails.

The working party started examining sentence calculations, laid down by the 1967 Criminal Justice Act, last October. After legal advice, an Instruction to Governors, Number 50/96, was sent out by the Prison Service, signed by Mr Tilt, on August 15.

Introducing the new Sentence Calculation Manual, the instruction says: "The aim is to eliminate variations in practice which might lose the Prison Service large sums of money in court costs and compensation to ex-prisoners."

The guidelines on calculating release dates were drawn up by a Prison Service working party, with advice from Home Office lawyers, after a series of court cases last year.

Harry Fletcher, assistant general secretary of the National Association of Probation Officers, said: "The credibility of the Prison Service in the eyes of all those in the whole criminal justice system is severely strained. The Home Secretary's been severely embarrassed. It appears he did not know that this was going to happen. It's now about fighting for his credibility."

The shadow home secretary, Jack Straw, warned Mr Howard not to make Mr Tilt a scapegoat over the crisis.

Protests grow over ID cards

Richard Norton-Taylor and Michael White

THE Cabinet's compromise formula for phasing in a voluntary identity card — for children as well as adults — over the next two years generated furious condemnation from MPs, civil liberty groups and the registrar of data protection.

With John Redwood, the failed Tory leadership challenger, saying he would never carry an ID bearing the European flag, Elizabeth France, the registrar, warned that ministers had not allayed fears that the system would prove open to forgery and abuse.

The Government indicated that ID cards could contain information about the health, blood group, allergies or organ donor details of the holder. It also suggested cards would be issued by the driving licence agency, the DVLA.

But Mrs France said the DVLA database was not designed with an identification system in mind. It did not verify the individual's true identity. Cards could be used to provide false credibility — to bogus door-to-door salesmen, for example. And while individuals would have access to the information held on ID cards, the Government had not explained who else would have access to it.

The Home Secretary, Michael Howard, announced a compromise solution on the question of Britain's new identity card, under which Northern Ireland's nationalist community will be able to avoid embracing a document bearing the Union Jack.

After weeks of inter-departmental wrangling, John Major finally approved a deal whereby three options will be available to obtain a credit card-style ID card with or without a driver's licence in mainland Britain. There will also be a fourth choice for Northern Ireland.

Not only would the new credit card-size plastic card double as a driving licence — if people chose — but as an EU-wide travel document it would also "help prevent certain types of crime, such as frauds based on misrepresentation of identity" and help shopkeepers restrict the sale of cigarettes, alcohol, videos and lottery tickets to those old enough to buy them.

The options are:

❑ A plastic driver's licence bearing both the EU flag and the Union Jack;

❑ A plastic voluntary ID card, with EU flag and Royal Crest;

❑ A combined ID card and driver's licence bearing EU and Union flags plus the Royal Crest;

❑ The existing arrangement whereby Ulster subjects retain their two-part paper driver's licence, including a photo identity but without the disputed symbols.

Pump up the volume

A BRIEF cloudburst dampened costumes but had little impact on spirits at the Notting Hill Carnival, the biggest street festival in the northern hemisphere, *writes Sam Wollaston.*

There was the usual medley of shimmering colour, feathers and gravity-defying balance: warriors and dancers, sailors, exotic sea creatures, birds, and insects whose wings uncrumpled when the sun came out after the rain.

This year, commercialism seems to have crept in, with a very obvious Lilt presence. But most of the revellers seemed to prefer old favourites: Heineken and Red Stripe.

Many of Notting Hill's smarter residents had moved out for the weekend. It is not so much the processions they mind, which are colourful and jolly; it is those blasted sound systems.

But the 45 sound systems are the engine room of modern carnival, playing reggae, drum and bass, swing beat, ragga, house, garage and jungle.

Stand between two systems and somewhere in the middle of your head they slam into each other like exploding asteroids. Add the scream of a 150,000 whistles and you are either in heaven or hell.

A young reveller enjoys the Notting Hill carnival PHOTO: DAVID SILLITOE

Howard approves 'safe' CS sprays

Duncan Campbell

TWO police forces have announced that they will not issue their officers with CS sprays, despite the Home Secretary's go-ahead for the incapacitants. Chief constables were told that, after six months of trials, the CS sprays had been approved for use nationally.

The sprays, to be used in violent or life-threatening situations, have been tested in 16 of the 43 forces in England and Wales since March. Last week Michael Howard announced that, in the light of the success of the trials, he was giving the go-ahead for the sprays to be available for every force.

Mr Howard said: "CS is effective and safe, and promises to be an excellent addition to the means which police officers have of defending themselves. It does not require strength to use and is therefore especially valuable to female officers who are sadly sometimes targeted for attack by criminals."

His decision was welcomed by police staff associations. Tony Burden, chief constable of Gwent and chairman of the Association of Chief Police Officers' self defence subcommittee, said: "I am confident that [CS] has prevented serious injury to many officers faced with violence. The sprays have also had a significant deterrent effect."

But two forces, Hertfordshire and Surrey, said they would not be using the approved version of the CS spray. Hertfordshire's chief constable, Peter Sharpe, said: "I still have concerns over the safety of the delivery agent and the issue of cross-contamination with the use of the CS spray."

Surrey police also issued a statement saying that, although they were committed to a CS-based incapacitant spray, they had not taken part in the tests because of concern about the design of the canister and the content of Home Office-issue CS spray.

Reservations were also expressed by Liberty. Its campaigns co-ordinator, Liz Parratt, said: "CS spray takes us one step further away from policing by consent rather than coercion."

In Brief

ATLANTIC Commercial, an arms dealing company whose conviction for selling machine-guns to Iraq via Jordan was quashed on appeal after it emerged that senior Foreign Office and Customs officials had improperly interfered in the case, has been given leave to challenge Home Secretary Michael Howard's refusal to award it compensation.

JOHN BIRT, the BBC's director general, has launched a public appeal for an inflation-busting increase in the television licence fee, warning that the corporation's survival is at stake.

Gateway to the future, page 22

A BRITON who emigrated to Australia was awarded £62,500 after returning to claim damages for his exposure to asbestos dust 50 years ago. Sidney Hepton, aged 65, worked as an apprentice in 1946 building railway carriages at a British Rail works in York.

DEREK ROWBOTTOM, aged 44, who admitted giving his sick mother a morphine overdose, will not be charged in connection with her death.

THE coach driver involved in a crash in Wales in which 10 people died last year is to be charged with 10 counts of causing death by dangerous driving.

DNA samples provided to police by five boys who travelled to France with the murdered Cornish schoolgirl, Caroline Dickinson, have all proved to be negative.

THE Midlands health authority that had refused to pay for the London care of Mandy Allwood, the woman carrying eight foetuses, has changed its mind and said her treatment was more important than an argument over funding.

STUDENTS who have not even attempted A levels are being offered places at some of Britain's most prestigious universities as the new vocational qualifications introduced by the Government as an alternative to traditional courses is accepted.

AN URGENT safety check has been carried out on specialised blood bags after three platelet bags were found to be leaking at a Manchester transfusion centre.

A FLOTILLA of private boats and emergency craft rescued 117 day-trippers and crew from a blazing ferry off Guernsey.

A HIJACKED Sudanese aircraft carrying 199 passengers and crew landed at London's Stansted airport on Tuesday. The hijackers were thought to be seeking political asylum. More than 160 passengers were freed.

Time present, time past

THE INQUIRY now being held by South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission provides a rare chance to discuss recent history at a serious level of morality. It is not the facts but how they should be judged which are the issue in the rival presentations by ex-president F W de Klerk (for the former ruling National Party) and the current deputy president Thabo Mbeki (for the ANC). No one disputes that terror was employed by both sides for over two decades in the apartheid era. The white supremacist government tortured and killed prisoners, shot peaceful demonstrators, fomented civil violence to divide the black community, condoned rape and the killing of children, carried out assassinations on foreign soil and conducted covert wars against its neighbours. The liberation movement, with the ANC to the fore, adopted, from 1961 onwards, a deliberate policy of using terror against the state. Though most of its targets could be construed as belonging to the state apparatus, there were also indiscriminate bombings and assassinations of white civilians. In addition, suspected spies and infiltrators in the ANC camps were beaten, tortured and detained in inhumane conditions; dozens were executed or committed suicide. Mr De Klerk is particularly anxious to argue that no side has a monopoly of virtue, while Mr Mbeki argues that the ANC's actions were committed in the course of a "just war". The moral dichotomy is clear enough: how should it be judged?

Mr De Klerk asks us to believe that apartheid was a sincere, though "mistaken", attempt to restructure South Africa on the basis of separate development. He then claims that violence was employed by Pretoria in another mistaken belief — that the black majority which opposed apartheid was the agent of Soviet communism. What Mr De Klerk has not explained, far less apologised for, is the systematic racism of his own party which had, since its victory in 1948, put discrimination ever more firmly on the statute books. To pretend that the "homelands" policy was ever intended to share the national wealth equitably between blacks and whites is, in 1996, an insult to any audience's intelligence.

"The attacks of the wild beast cannot be averted with only bare hands," Nelson Mandela argued after Sharpeville, when the ANC debated whether to shift from non-violence to violence. Is it possible to regard, from the perspective of the black majority, the oppressive regime of Verwoerd and Vorster, and the lawless security apparatus which served them, as anything other than wild beasts? In these revisionist days, it may jar slightly to hear Mr Mbeki talk of "just wars" and "national liberation" — but how else were the blacks going to win freedom? The violence of the past decades has undoubtedly set a worrying pattern for a society now struggling to find peace. And as a matter of political expediency, it may be prudent for South Africa today to accept Mr De Klerk's apology and get on with national rebuilding. But as a matter of historical judgment, his argument is — to choose the mildest word — disingenuous. And his claim to have known nothing about the "unconventional strategies" adopted by Pretoria's security forces simply defies belief.

Chasing the wrong target

CHILD prostitution is something that is supposed to happen in Bangkok, not Bradford. Like the Victorian era when child prostitution was rampant, modern Britain has been good at averting its gaze. Some readers may want to dismiss Maggie O'Kane's harrowing account of a child prostitute as a one-off, an isolated criminal act not a deep-seated systemic problem. But her account coincides with the publication of a Barnardos report on the stark life of 45 child prostitutes in Bradford. Many were lured into the trade by young pimps but then forced to continue the practice. The Barnardos report follows last year's pioneering work by the Children's Society, which showed in a four-year period 1,500 young women under 18 were convicted of offences relating to prostitution and 1,800 cautioned. A 10-year-old was among those cautioned and four 12-year-olds among those convicted.

No one knows how many child prostitutes there are in the UK, but child specialists believe it could be as high as 5,000. About 98,000 young people run away from home — or care — every year. Almost half are not reported missing. When the Children's Society opened Britain's first safe house for runaways in 1985, 7 per cent of the 500 who used it said they had been involved in prostitution. They believed they had no other choice. Without money, food or shelter, selling sex was the one way they were able to survive. About 20 per cent were already victims of sexual abuse. Yet instead of being seen as victims requiring protection, far too many are still treated as criminals in need of punishment.

Our current double standards in dealing with the problem might even make the Victorians blush. Any man who tried to have sex with an under-aged child in his house could expect to be investigated by police and social services. But if he goes down the road and pays $30 to a child prostitute, he will be relatively immune. Regrettably, when campaigners ask "A man has sex with a 12-year-old prostitute — who should pay for it?" the current answer is, not the pimp or the client. They both get away with far too much. Moreover it is worth noting the seeming "respectability" of many of the clients, who in Bradford were reported by Barnardos to have jobs, nice cars and who go home to wives and families. They would be shocked to be given their proper label: paedophiles.

What should be done? More facts are needed. Barnardos wants a parliamentary working party on child prostitution. The police and social services need to pay more heed to the 1989 Children Act, under which they have a duty to protect those under 18 from "significant harm". It is pimps and clients who should be prosecuted, not child prostitutes. The Children's Society is right to be campaigning for the decriminalisation of child prostitution. They need protection, not punishment. It is no use ministers insisting, as they do, on parents taking more interest in their children: many of the children who end up as child prostitutes are already in care. Above all, we need to re-educate men: having sex with children is wrong.

Mad car disease

FREEDOM for the pike, wrote Tawney, is death to the minnow. And freedom for the motorist? Liberation for millions; but also death for too many, and illness and misery for thousands of others, choking and fighting for breath in the kind of smogs Britain is starting to take for granted. The package John Gummer announced last week begins, at last, to address that agenda with appropriate urgency. No such urgency, however, attends his deadline, five years into the next century. Nor is there any detectable sense of urgency in his Government's financial commitment. Much of the burden is simply dumped on cash-strapped local government.

Yet choking pollution is only one of the menacing consequences of what Margaret Thatcher called the Great Car Economy. There is also the curse of traffic noise: at a time when in other contexts people's rights to be protected from neighbourhood noise are increasingly acknowledged, they have no defence against the juggernaut thundering past the window. And unless there is drastic action, it is going to get worse. The Council for the Protection of Rural England last week published frightening evidence of what the Great Car Economy is about to do to towns and villages all over the land. In much of Britain, traffic will double or treble over the next 30 years, affecting not just major roads but what we now think of as country lanes.

The lesson that building new roads encourages traffic growth has dawned at last on that great redoubt of the friends of road traffic, the Department of Transport. Road building has been drastically cut. But if the consequence of that is to cram twice as much traffic into existing road space, our last state will be worse than our first. Politicians have ducked this problem for far too long. Partly for fear of the costs of remedial action (though in fact the additional costs of a rational transport policy would be offset by substantial savings) but also from fear of public opinion. Voters are deeply ambivalent. They accept that we can't go on muddling through as we have been; they sense that only radical change will curb the use of our roads; yet almost every practical scheme for effective action is distrusted as an unfair constraint on their freedom to drive as they choose.

The toll that motor traffic is taking on public health and public well-being far exceeds that of most of the dangers that constantly hit the headlines. Perhaps we need to start thinking in terms of Mad Car Disease.

Immigration and a modern conundrum

Martin Woollacott

ON THE one hand, the state and its prerogatives, the law and its inviolability, the citizen and his rights properly elevated above those of outsiders, the nation guarding its gates, and the baton raised to strike. On the other, the claims of victims, of the unlucky, of children who do not yet know the meaning of the word "France" — let alone the answer to the question of whether they are part of France or not, and the spectacle of people dragged away by men in uniform.

The police assault on the church of Saint-Bernard in Paris is symptomatic of the time of troubles over immigration which both Europe and America are entering. These are a result of real pressures from migrants and of the less than coherent, less than kind response of governments and peoples to those pressures. The presentation of immigration as a problem divorced from all the forces which create it is one aspect of that response. The use of immigrants as scapegoats and as symbols is another, often eclipsing reality.

The very idea of a "solution" to immigration is in itself unreliable, since the movement of people is, and always has been, part of the intricate, shifting balance of the globe as its zones of safety, prosperity, and cultural energy expand and contract and its means of mobility evolve. In a much, much more equal world, migration flows might diminish: that is about all that can be said. Such a world is far away. Meanwhile solutions can only be temporary, *ad hoc* compromises. Yet, if migrants have always moved, governments have always tried to control them. Free movement is far from realised even within the national boundaries of democracies, where it is controlled by invisible barriers of property and money. Elsewhere the constraints are even more serious, not so much now to tie people to where they were born but to force them to move from those places to others where they do not particularly want to go.

Frequently, the immigration we see in the West from the poorer countries is the second or third stage of such a dislocation. It is a process which will, for instance, take a Kurd in southeastern Turkey from his ancestral village to the outskirts of a Turkish town, then to a big city in eastern Turkey, and finally to a street in Berlin or Bremen, where others of that same village have built a bridgehead. Or it can transport a Bangladeshi peasant from his fields to the hutments of New Delhi, where perhaps half a million of that nation live, supplying cheap domestic and other labour to the Indian middle classes, while his "luckier" cousin makes it to London's East End.

Control of immigration ought not to be a dirty word. The Kurd has no inalienable right to go to Berlin, just as the man from Mali, where most of the Saint-Bernard immigrants come from, has no assured place in Paris. Yet immigration control has become such a field of hypocrisy, of political gesturing, of identity manipulation, that it is hard to discuss in the careful terms it deserves. Frequently, immigration control is not so much a means of excluding the immigrant — although it does that, often brutally — as a means of signalling to the poorer and more marginal citizen that *he* is still included and that society still cares for *him*. One marginal group is punished to make other, slightly less marginal, groups feel better.

Increasingly, governments want to be seen to act against illegal immigration, to limit legal immigration, and to narrow asylum rules. France has deported 14,000 in the past 14 months and is believed to have plans to deport up to 20,000 illegal immigrants a year in charter planes, as it tightens already tough legislation. Madrid, after signing the Schengen agreement, offered residence to illegal immigrants presently in Spain as a prelude to harsher treatment for those who will come in the future. Recent Spanish deportations have featured tied hands, gags and tranquillisers. In Britain, Joy Gardner's death last year dramatised the costs of sharpening an admittedly slack regime. Even Holland has been criticised for "inhuman" detention measures for illegal immigrants, while in Norway an anti-immigrant party overnight became the third biggest in local elections last September.

Reflecting the preoccupations of European Union governments, Europol has said that "organised illegal immigration" is its priority. In the US, too, the target is what a recent official report called the "growing trade in human cargo". Under its new immigration bill, the United States has streamlined deportation, increased the Rio Grande border patrols, and persuaded some firms to introduce computerised checking of employees.

THE IDEA that immigration no longer fulfils historic functions of cultural mixing and stimulation and of providing a rapid flow of labour to economically dynamic areas has played a part in these developments. Both functions, the argument goes, can now be carried out by other transfers. In an intellectually integrated world, the ideas can move without the people. Similarly, most work of the rougher variety can now move to the people rather than the people to the work. Business does not yet fully subscribe to this view, seeming to want both cheap labour abroad and the cheaper labour at home that immigration helps bring about.

For the committed Christian and for certain kinds of anti-racist liberal, the question of policy is secondary. Such people begin at the point of trouble, in a particular place, with particular individuals, not at some strategic height where inflows and outflows of people are calculated as if they were water flowing through pipes or up against dams. For them, it is a question of basing action on the right attitude, which is to offer help to people in despair.

Governments rarely follow such emotional logic, but attitude here is also the moral key. Any policy that arises not from necessity but from the impulse to make political theatre, must be by definition wrong. Migration, within and between nations, made the modern world what it is. Anybody who imagines that they and their families have not been part of this process fails to understand history.

Le Monde

Liberia makes another bid for peace

Thomas Sotinel in Monrovia

FOR the first time since the beginning of the civil war in 1989, the news from Liberia is good rather than bad. At the close of a summit meeting in Abuja, the Nigerian capital — which on August 17 brought together the heads of state of the Economic Community of West African States (Ecowas) and the leaders of the various armed factions in Liberia — Ruth Sando Perry was appointed president of the Liberian Council of State. Perry, who is in her fifties, is the first woman to head an African country.

Two months after the end of the terrible fighting that devastated the Liberian capital, Monrovia, Perry will not find it easy to implement the timetable for a return to peace and democracy hammered out in Abuja. It is due to culminate with the election of a new president on May 31, 1997, once the tens of thousands of fighters who have been ravaging the country for more than five years have been disarmed and demobilised.

The composition of the rest of the Council of State remains unchanged. It includes three faction leaders: Charles Taylor of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia, Alhaji Kromah of the Mandingo wing of the United Liberation Movement, Ulimo-M, and George Boley of the Liberian Peace Council, as well as a representative of the civilian population and a customary chief.

Perry's predecessor, university lecturer Wilton Sankawulo, who, like her, was widely portrayed as an "independent figure", sided unequivocally with the alliance formed by Taylor and Kromah when they were fighting Krahn militias grouped around "General" Roosevelt Johnson's wing of Ulimo in April and May.

But the new president, who is a former senator, promised in an interview on BBC radio that she would not be bribed or intimidated by threats of military action, and that she was expecting her colleagues to show her "the respect due to a mother".



Mean streets . . . fighters from Charles Taylor's faction patrol a section of the capital, Monrovia. Under the new peace plan they should be disarmed by May 1997

Money-changers in the streets of the ruined capital did not wait to hear the outcome of the summit meeting before increasing the rate of the Liberian dollar by 7 per cent against the US dollar on August 16.

Only one serious incident has been reported in Monrovia in the past few weeks. On August 10, an argument between Ulimo-K fighters degenerated into an exchange of fire. Contrary to what happened when fighting flared up in April, the West African peacekeeping force, Ecomog, stepped in swiftly and energetically, wounding several fighters and onlookers.

Ecomog road-blocks have been reinforced in Monrovia, and it is now theoretically impossible to bring arms into the capital. But whatever the faction leaders may proclaim in public, many fighters remain there, chiefly in the mainly Krahn district centred on the Barclay Training Centre, a barracks that served as headquarters for the Johnson coalition.

In the streets surrounding the Centre, people still sell the paltry remainders of what they looted during the battle for Monrovia.

The heads of state in Abuja threatened — for the first time — to impose sanctions on any faction leaders who failed to respect the summit's decisions. Taylor, Boley, Kromah, Johnson, and their families, who until recently used to go to Conakry or Abidjan on shopping expeditions or to get medical treatment, may find they are no longer authorised to travel in the region unless they toe the line.

It would appear the United States has promised to come up with the necessary finance to strengthen Ecomog's forces, which are due to rise from 8,500 to 18,000 men within the next two months.

The mediating force will continue to consist almost entirely of Nigerian nationals and to be headed by a Nigerian-appointed general. The Nigerian president, Sani Abacha, has dismissed John Inienger, head of Ecomog during the April crisis, and replaced him with another Nigerian, General Victor Malu, the man who repelled Taylor's attack on the capital in 1992.

In a farewell message to his troops, Inienger said he was convinced that there were "good sides" to the April incidents. But the thousands of inhabitants of Monrovia whose houses were burnt to the ground or looted so systematically as to render them uninhabitable probably feel the only "good side" is Inienger's departure.

(August 20)

'The problem cannot be solved by killing'

A Chechen leader tells **Jean-Baptiste Naudet** why his people want to be free of Moscow

"FIRST of all, we're not separatists," said Said-Khazam Abumulismov, vice-president of the secessionist movement in Chechenia. "We've never been happy being part of Russia — our history proves that."

In Abumulismov's view, the Chechens are simply demanding "an independent and sovereign state in Chechenia — which is what it actually has been for the past four years. We don't want to kill anyone to achieve that. The right of every people to self-determination is a fact of life. So are international standards, and they should be respected. We want the Russian army to leave, so we can hold elections and a referendum under international control."

Just as Zelimkhan Yandarbiev stepped into the shoes of the president of the movement, Dzhokhar Dudayev, when he was killed a few months ago, so Abumulismov is ready to take over the leadership if Yandarbiev suffers the same fate.

Abumulismov warns the Russians that "the Chechen problem cannot be solved simply by killing the leader in a society where there's no strong hierarchy, no subordination as in Russia. Between a Russian and God there is a tsar; but between a Chechen and God there is no one."

Abumulismov, a historian who once sat in the Chechen parliament, rejects the idea of a compromise over the status of Chechenia along the lines of the "independence/partnership" deal now being offered the French overseas territory of New Caledonia.

"Partnership with countries like France or Britain is possible, but not with present-day Russia, which doesn't respect the law," he stresses.

Abumulismov is, however, prepared to make some compromises — to accept "freely agreed ties" with Moscow, for example, and "to enter into a confederation of two sovereign states with Russia within the Commonwealth of Independent States".

"But we would want international guarantees," he warns, "because the rule of law doesn't operate in Russia. The country is very far from being a democracy. Its moral sickness is expressed in the Chechen conflict. If Russia were a country where the rule of law existed, this war would never have taken place.

"I doubt whether that rule of law will come into force for 10, 20, 30 or even 40 years; and if a demagogue like Zhirinovsky [the ultra-nationalist candidate in June's presidential election] were ever to come to power, that would be the end."

Abumulismov is afraid that General Alexander Lebed, whom Yeltsin has put in charge of the Chechen problem, will be unable to end the war: "Lebed is a man who keeps his word. But he is alone. You don't often find people like him among Russian leaders — they're all former apparatchiks — and he may fall victim to intrigues in the Kremlin.

"Two possible courses of action are open to Russia. Either it solves the Chechen question, and nothing will threaten it, as there is no real risk of other republics seceding, or the war goes on, and the psychological barriers which are beginning to crumble will collapse completely. The conflict will then spread to the whole of the Caucasus. The mechanism has already cranked into action. As Chechens, we have no choice but to fight for our independence."

Finally, Abumulismov warns the West that it is making a mistake if it thinks it can help stability in Russia by not getting involved in the issue: "The war will spread. The West hasn't come to our aid, chiefly because we're Muslims, and it is afraid of Muslims. But by acting in that way it may find itself having to cope with precisely the situation it most dreaded."

(August 20)

Romania is the sick man of Europe

Christophe Chatelot in Bucharest

THE Romanian prime minister, Nicolae Vacaroiu, announced on August 21 that his health minister, Iulian Mincu, and culture minister, Viorel Marginean, had decided to resign "for personal reasons".

There had been press reports over the previous few weeks that Romania's ruling Party of Social Democracy intended to "refurbish the government's image" before the parliamentary and presidential elections due in November.

Although the 69-year-old Mincu was unable to prevent a deterioration in the Romanian health system, he did manage to pull off the feat of hanging on to his job for almost four years despite a highly dubious track record both before and during his spell at the ministry.

His appointment in November 1992 seemed like a bad joke: not only had he been one of President Nicolae Ceausescu's private doctors, but his influence over the dictator apparently extended well beyond such areas as the treatment of his diabetes.

But in the end it was not so much Mincu's shady past as his disastrous record as health minister that really counted against him. In the past few months, for example, he has been implicated in the export of contaminated blood to Germany as well as incurring the anger of patients and pharmacists alike by restricting the distribution of free medical products.

At the beginning of this year, poor hygiene in hospitals resulted in the death of eight newborn babies. "The uncertainties of the health budget have become an excuse for laziness and even negligence," said one doctor at the time.

Such faults certainly seem to lie behind delays in setting up a nationwide family-planning network, which gets international funding but only half-hearted support from the health ministry.

Because they are poorly or wrongly informed, Romanian women in the 15-49 age group have an average of more than five abortions, according to a recent World Health Organisation report. Similarly, the government's inaction in the area of Aids prevention and information cannot be put down solely to a shortage of funds.

Meanwhile the deterioration in the living conditions of the population, which began in the early eighties, has continued with each new economic reform. Buying power has slumped by 30 per cent in the past six years. The inevitable result has been a decline in public health.

The upshot of this is that Romania holds several unenviable European records. According to the National Statistics Commission, the death rate during the first three months of this year rose to 15.6 per thousand inhabitants (as compared with 11.7 in 1994, and 9.2 in France). As for the infant mortality rate, it has risen in some areas to 30 per thousand births, or three times the European average.

(August 23)

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
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Reactionary forces find their voices

The far right and Christian fundamentalists are together riding 'the crest of a wave', writes **Ariane Chemin**, and (below) **Jean-Baptiste de Montalvon** looks at a rightwinger's backdoor entry into parliament

ORANGE was one of three town councils in Provence won by the far-right National Front (NF) at the June 1995 local elections. Its mayor, Jacques Bompard, immediately set about turning Orange into a testing ground for "municipal *lepénisme*" (the political philosophy of NF leader Jean-Marie Le Pen).

He forced the Orange public library to stock books by former Waffen-SS officers and notorious anti-Semites, and recently slapped a ban on "the distribution of leaflets of all kinds on the public highway" (the "leaflets" he objected to were anti-NF tracts).

Following legal action by the prefect and Thierry Mariani, the local neo-Gaullist, Rassemblement Pour La République deputy, the ban was lifted by a Marseille court on the grounds that it restricted free speech. Skirmishes of this kind are all grist to Le Pen's mill.

Bompard, who is regarded even by his opponents as "much more accessible" than his Socialist predecessor, is a politician in the true Le Pen mould: on the one hand he radiates Provençal *bonhomie* and deals personally with individual requests; on the other, he regularly denounces the way the NF is "persecuted" and is quick to respond to what he regards as libel.

All the signs are that Orange, a town Bompard likes to praise for its "tranquillity", has not reacted massively against its NF-controlled council. Indeed, its inhabitants seem to have become rather tired of Mariani's running battle with their mayor and are certainly less outraged than he is at the ban on the distribution of anti-NF tracts.

Serge Triboulsky, a philosophy teacher and member of the largest of the four local anti-NF associations, Alerte-Orange, says: "Bompard is already into his second year as mayor — and we've run out of ammunition." He believes the NF took control of the council last year because it had plenty of men and women activists at grassroots level. "Those same activists are still hard at it every day. We must match their efforts."

Maurice Delarue, treasurer of the Orange Reformed Church, who regularly lends his parish hall to voluntary associations that have been financially throttled by the council, thinks the resistance movement has not yet got into full swing.

Some criticise the methods that have been used. Michel Crumière, a former president of another anti-NF association, Faire Face, says: "The people of Orange have reached saturation point. We should let the mayor screw things up thoroughly before we embark on the second stage of our offensive."

Pierre Tafani, writing in the geopolitical review Herodote, believes that recent NF gains in Provence are just "the crest of a huge wave". He is worried that the south of France has become an ideal breeding ground for reactionary ideas, and that the model of republican integration is being increasingly eroded by segregationist arguments.

The writer Roger Martin is one of the people who organised a demonstration against Le Pen's visit to Carpentras in November 1995 (the NF leader wanted to obtain redress for the "accusations" levelled against his movement after the desecration of Jewish graves in a Carpentras cemetery five years earlier; the culprits, one of whom used to belong to a neo-Nazi group, were caught last month).

Martin thinks the NF's strategy is to win over all the villages and small towns around Orange. This is confirmed by Bompard himself when he says: "Many of our friends who sit on councils around here are members of the NF, but don't want people to know."

Fundamentalist Catholics are campaigning on far-right themes in a bid to establish themselves in the



'What's this we have here?' — 'I found it at the public library in the south of France'

area. The councils of Sorgues and Beaucaire include members of France Debout, the fundamentalist Catholic movement headed by Pierre Bernard.

The local fundamentalist Catholic stronghold is the Benedictine monastery of Sainte-Madeleine, in the tiny village of Le Barroux. The monastery supported the traditionalist Mgr Marcel Lefebvre when he was excommunicated after ordaining four bishops without the Vatican's consent in 1988.

A month later its prior, Dom Gérard Calvet, accepted Rome's surprising offer of reconciliation, whereby it would lift its sanctions and regularise the situation of priests ordained by Lefebvre. His monastery was elevated to the rank of abbey, and he himself was ordained abbot by a cardinal who travelled specially from Rome.

Dom Gérard's return to the Catholic fold without having to make the slightest concession — the monks of Sainte-Madeleine continued to celebrate mass in Latin and according to the liturgy of Pope Pius V — prompted strong reservations on the part of the French episcopate.

He continues to enjoy good relations with the Vatican — where he campaigned against the leftwing activism of the then Bishop of Evreux, Mgr Jacques Gaillot, in 1994 — even though he maintains far-right links.

ALTHOUGH Dom Gérard refuses to see journalists, he readily opens his doors to his friends if they feel the need for a spot of meditation. When Bompard wants "to uplift his soul" he goes to Sainte-Madeleine. When Chrétienté-Solidarité, the fundamentalist movement run by NF-executive member Bernard Antony (alias Romain Marie), needs a venue for its summer school, Dom Gérard provides it. Le Pen rested at Le Barroux before organising his demonstration in Carpentras last November.

Dom Gérard believes in a "crusade where faith is served by the sword" and "religion and politics are combined". He likes to remind his 100-odd neatly tonsured young monks that "Christianity is a profession of arms". He gets such a huge mailbag he finds it more convenient to reply to inquiries through the columns of the far-right magazine Présent.

"Most Holy Virgin, give us back France's soul," he prays. "Deliver us from this ideological scourge which does violence to the soul of the people. They have driven crucifixes out of schools, courtrooms and hospitals." In 1994, Dom Gérard was fined for heading an anti-abortion raid on a Grenoble hospital.

On sale at the entrance to the monastery, in addition to honey and almond cakes made by the monks, are several books that reconcile the spiritual with the temporal, including a biography of Robert Brasillach, the collaborationist writer, by Présent's editor, Jean Madiran.

Dom Gérard occasionally oversteps the mark. In his own book Demain La Chrétienté (Tomorrow Christianity), he echoes Louis-Ferdinand Céline when he asks: "How can you expect shit to smell nice?" He also writes: "Is it generally known that on council housing estates in our big cities it is not unusual for the contiguity of human beings to result in scenes of sexual murder and cannibalism."

The inhabitants of the dinky village of Le Barroux prefer not to talk about the abbey, though they do wonder where the monks get their money from (the construction of the monastery reportedly cost more than $16 million) and who the people are who arrive for Sunday mass in swanky cars with Swiss, Belgian and German number plates.

But when the NF got 33 per cent of the vote at last year's local elections in Le Barroux, prompting Chrétienté-Solidarité members to raise a flag bearing the slogan "God, family, fatherland" on the village castle, some inhabitants responded by creating an association called Yeux Ouverts (Open Eyes).

Its president, Marie-Françoise Rogez, who describes herself as "apolitical and moderate", feels that the Sainte-Madeleine monastery has become "the NF's spiritual rear base, which defends the white race and an Inquisition-like form of religion."

(August 13)

Doing God's work in the National Assembly

PIERRE BERNARD, a former officer in France's colonial army, is a curious political animal. He first drew attention to himself when, standing as an "unaffiliated" rightwinger, he managed to become mayor of the former communist stronghold of Montfermeil, in the Paris suburbs, at the 1983 local elections. He is now a faithful disciple of the rightwing maverick Philippe de Villiers, though he tends to tow a National Front (NF) line.

When Eric Raoult of the neo-Gaullist RPR stood for re-election as member of parliament at the Le Raincy constituency in the Seine-St-Denis *département* in 1993, he chose Bernard to be his deputy. Two years later, Raoult was appointed minister of cities and integration. As a result [members of parliament who become ministers have to give up their seats to their deputies] Bernard entered the National Assembly.

Bernard has a very strange notion of what is meant by the separation of church and state. On June 10, he used National Assembly-headed notepaper to invite the elected representatives of Seine-St-Denis round to his home for "an evening of meditation and prayer in the presence of one of the 108 Pilgrim Virgins" (trailers bearing 108 statues of "Pilgrim Virgins" have travelled the length and breadth of France in the past year, covering 2 million kilometres and leaving a trail of "miracles", "visions" and "conversions" in their [illegible]. "The [illegible]," he went on, "will give us a chance to ask the Virgin Mary to intercede on behalf of our constituency, our *département* and our country."

A host of fundamentalist Catholic references are to be found in the Montfermeil municipal bulletin, La Gerbe (The Ear of Corn), which Bernard named after a journal founded in July 1940 by Alphonse de Chateaubriant, a fervent admirer of Hitler.

Bernard, who, according to an opposition council member, systematically concludes all council meetings with a ringing "God be with you!", never misses a chance in his editorials to ram home the Christian message. In the March 1991 issue of the bulletin, he described his "all too short three-day retreat" at the fundamentalist monastery of Sainte-Madeleine du Barroux.

Bernard recently caused something of a stir by attending the funeral of Paul Touvier, the head of the Vichy militia in Lyon sentenced to life imprisonment in 1994. But his presence was hardly surpri[illegible] he is a friend of Jac[illegible] de Villers, Touvier's defen[illegible]sel, who is now in charge of legal matters at Montfermeil.

Bernard wrote in the May 1994 issue of La Gerbe: "A court has just passed too harsh a sentence on the almost 80-year-old Paul Touvier, who was pardoned by President Georges Pompidou, and was guilty, it is true, of having had seven Jews killed instead of the 30 he had been ordered to kill."

Bernard is a political as well as a religious fundamentalist. When he became mayor of Montfermeil, one of the first things he did was rename Rue Salvador Allende (named after the socialist Chilean president ousted by the military in 1973) and circulate in schools a "manual of civic and moral education" published by the International Federation for the Defence of Fundamental Values.

He first attracted controversy in 1985 when he attempted to prevent immigrant children from attending primary schools in the Cité des Bosquets district. Four years later, he tried the same thing with nursery schools.

In November 1989, Bernard [illegible] France Debout, an associa[illegible]lected representatives wish[illegible] combat an insane policy of uncontrolled immigration". A year later, Claude Cornilleau, who was then president of the tiny pro-Nazi French and European Nationalist Party (PNFE), published an interview with Bernard in its official organ, Tribune Nationaliste.

At the March 1993 general election, when Raoult chose him to be his deputy in Le Raincy, Bernard urged the electorate in another Seine-St-Denis constituency to vote for the NF candidate.

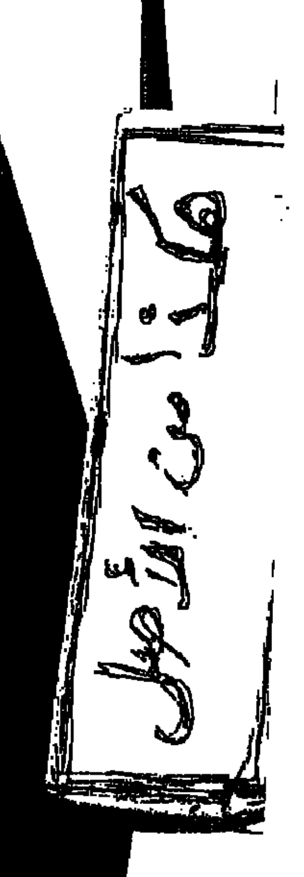
When Raoult joined the government in May 1995, Bernard took over his seat in the National Assembly. It was not long before he was warning members of parliament about the evils of allowing pregnant single women to get free abortions on the national health service.

"My blood begins to boil every time Pierre Bernard addresses the assembly," Raoult now admits. Although he regards him as someone who is "passionately committed" and has "an endearing side", the minister decided to break off all contact with his deputy after learning he had attended Touvier's funeral. "If I had to choose betw[illegible] getting elected an[illegible] Bernard as my deputy, I'd [illegible] the first solution," Raoult says.

Yet in March 1993, after choosing Bernard as his fellow candidate, Raoult admitted: "I knew what I was letting myself in for by having him as my deputy."

(August 18/19)

Le Monde
Directeur: Jean-Marie Colombani



GUARDIAN WEEKLY
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Old SA Foes Offer Truths That Differ

Lynne Duke in Johannesburg

THE TRUTH, the whole truth and nothing but the truth: That is not what South Africa's truth commission heard last week.

The accounts of murder, torture and spying were real enough. In key testimony from party leaders, the commission heard of the white-minority National Party that used repression to hang onto control of a country whose racist policies were condemned around the globe. It heard of the now-ruling African National Congress, whose underground struggle was viewed widely as noble. But, besieged and undisciplined, it, too, committed abuses.

All of that is true, so far as it goes. But as the apartheid-era foes squared off with separate accounts of their decades-long conflict, what the Truth and Reconciliation Commission really heard were the opening shots in a political and ideological war over how much truth to tell, where the blame should lie and whether the ends justified the means.

Apartheid ended in 1994, but its battles live on.

The truth commission, which sat last week in Cape Town, is investigating human rights abuses during the anti-apartheid struggle and trying to unearth the truth about the blood-soaked past. It is, ostensibly, intended to foster reconciliation in this new democracy of majority rule that has been in place since the first all-races election in April 1994.

The commission's mandate is to view all human rights abuses the same, regardless of which side committed them. But the ANC, which represented the aspirations of the black majority, terms it "morally wrong and legally incorrect" to view its struggle in the same light as white governments' struggles to maintain the policy of racial separation.

The National Party, once a junior partner in the new government but now the parliamentary opposition, says it was battling a "revolutionary threat" that would have undermined law and order and brought to a halt the self-determination for which the Afrikaner minority had fought ever since the first Dutch settlers arrived in the 17th century.

With the airing of those divergent views, it is debatable whether the cause of reconciliation has been furthered, observers say. In their attempts to show how their actions were dictated by the threat posed by the other, the parties instead demonstrated the depth of the enmity between them and the long road ahead in the quest for national healing.

Both parties apologized to those who suffered needlessly during the conflicts that apartheid engendered. But both sides also sought to justify their battles.

With its book-length submission to the commission, the ANC appeared to be seeking the moral high ground and attempting to head off further disclosures. The ANC listed 34 people it executed in guerrilla camps and said other abuses occurred in its ranks. It listed bombing incidents in which civilians were unintentionally killed.

By contrast, the Nationalists did not offer details. National Party leader Frederik W. de Klerk, the last president under apartheid, said neither he nor other leaders authorized the assassinations and torture that were hallmarks of apartheid rule.

"I think the National Party [speakers] will only tell more if they have to tell more," said Jeremy Sarkin, national chairman of the Human Rights Committee.

How much muscle the commission has may be demonstrated when the commissioners, led by Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, call the parties back to answer questions.

The Nationalists could also be forced to reveal more if the ongoing trial of former defense minister Magnus Malan results in guilty verdicts. In that trial, Malan and several of the nation's top apartheid-era security officials are charged with murder and conspiracy against the ANC and its supporters.

De Klerk said last week that apartheid-era security leaders will make statements of their own. But the ANC hopes that Nationalist leaders, including de Klerk, will also come forward and tell more of what the ANC says is being hidden. If they do not, said Matthew Phosa, an ANC leader, "the law, after the truth commission, will have to take its course."

Nelson Mandela and the Dalai Lama greet well-wishers during an official reception for the Tibetan leader last week PHOTO SASA KRALJ

Clinton Moves to Curb Teen Smoking

Stephen Barr and Martha M. Hamilton

PRESIDENT CLINTON, saying he wants to "protect our children from tobacco," last week announced far-reaching restrictions on tobacco advertising and sales to adolescents.

The regulations represent one of the most important public health initiatives ever launched by the government, medical groups and federal health officials said. The goal is to cut teen smoking in half over the next seven years and to crush tobacco's appeal as fun, sophisticated and sexy.

The new rules would wipe out such staples of tobacco marketing as free samples, colorful billboards and cigarette brand advertising at sports events. They would ban vending machines except in "adult" facilities where children are not allowed, and would eliminate slick, color cigarette ads in magazines read by significant numbers of teenagers.

Clinton assailed tobacco advertising for leading the nation's youth into nicotine addiction. "With this historic action we are taking today, Joe Camel and the Marlboro Man will be out of our children's reach forever," Clinton said.

The tobacco industry filed suit last year in a federal court in North Carolina to block the plan, soon after the Food and Drug Administration first proposed regulating tobacco products. Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala and Food and Drug Commissioner David Kessler said they expect the tobacco and advertising industries to file additional lawsuits to seek to stop or modify the regulations.

The two officials and Clinton stressed that they were not interfering with the rights of smokers who are old enough to buy tobacco products. "We have absolutely no plans to ban smoking in this country," Shalala said. But she said that she hoped the rules would "break the cycle of nicotine addiction."

Lonnie Bristow, president of the American Medical Association, said, "What we saw today was every bit as important as when Jonas Salk stepped out and said he had found a safe [polio] vaccine."

Bristow predicted the tobacco industry would fight back in an attempt to maintain its profits. "This industry is incredibly powerful. They have more resources than most of the nations of the world. They are clearly going to fight this. There will be litigation. What will turn the tide will be public opinion."

The draft regulation was published a year ago and the government received more than 95,000 different comments in more than 700,000 pieces of mail. But the new rules drew immediate criticism from the tobacco industry as an election-year stunt.

Brown & Williamson called Clinton's announcement an "obvious political move" designed to draw attention away from a new study showing that illegal drug use is increasing among young Americans.

Republican presidential nominee Bob Dole, who was politically embarrassed earlier this year when he questioned whether nicotine is addictive, did not comment on the proposed rules last week. His campaign's press secretary, Nelson Warfield, said in a statement, "Today's tobacco news is designed to distract attention from Bill Clinton's abject failure in the war on drugs."

But Clinton said his rule "is the right thing to do, scientifically, legally and morally." Every day, he said, about 3,000 young people start smoking and nearly 1,000 of them will die prematurely because of cancer, emphysema, heart disease and other ailments caused by tobacco products.

"This epidemic is no accident. Children are bombarded daily by massive marketing campaigns that play on their vulnerabilities, their insecurities, their longings to be something in the world," Clinton said.

The final rules, which amplify state laws that prohibit the sale of tobacco products to minors, would restrict the sale and promotion of tobacco products based on their classification as devices that deliver the drug nicotine. The Federal Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act allows the FDA to regulate such products, officials said.

The FDA will require six companies that it says have attracted the largest percentages of under-aged consumers to run a campaign — including television spots — that would warn children and adolescents about the dangers of tobacco.

It Won't Wash, Mr. President

EDITORIAL

"AFTER I sign my name to this bill, welfare will no longer be a political issue," President Clinton said last week. He wishes. It may not be the same kind of issue it otherwise would have been in the presidential campaign. The Republicans won't be able to say he broke the glib promise of four years ago to end welfare as we know it. They may not be able to use the issue against the Democrats generally in the same way as in the past. Thanks to his signature, "the two parties cannot attack each other over it," the president said.

But at what price? The basic question of society's obligation to the poor won't go away any more than will the poor themselves. The charge against the president is that he wittingly signed a bad bill for political reasons and in the process sacrificed the interests of some of the nation's poorest people, including poor children. The signing ceremony was extraordinary in that much of it was given over to an implicit defense against that charge, conducted entirely in code, of course. "If it doesn't work now, it's everybody's fault," the president said at one point, spreading the possible blame. But in fact, though the Republicans wrote the bill, it will be mainly his fault. It was he who had the power to stop it.

The president said the bill "restores America's basic bargain of providing opportunity and demanding, in return, responsibility." He portrays it as a balanced bill, but it is not. Welfare recipients will be required to work, but with no assurance that jobs will be available, nor affordable child care, nor that the jobs will be ones the recipients can reasonably be expected to do; the list goes on. More than an eighth of the children in the country are on the welfare rolls. What happens to the children of those mothers whose benefits run out? "Now that we are saying with this bill [that] we expect work, we . . . all have a responsibility to make sure the jobs are there," the president said. But by the waving of what magic wand is that supposed to occur?

Mr. Clinton said this bill is better than the two he earlier vetoed. It is in some respects, but not all, and that's the wrong standard of judgment. A good welfare bill is one that provides recipients with enough support for them to make, successfully, the transition from welfare to work that is expected of them. Mr. Clinton sent up such a bill in 1994. That's the standard from which he now backs away.

In listing the virtues of the bill, he said the states will be required "to maintain their own spending on welfare reform," but in fact they will be permitted to spend much less. The governors insisted on the latitude. No other provision offers a better example of the break-up of the national program and shift of responsibility to the states that the bill would achieve. "The governors asked for this responsibility; now they've got to live up to it," the president said. He was exhorting them to do what they no longer must. How much real help is that?

The president should have had the political courage to veto the bill. Then he wouldn't have had to spend the morning squirming in the Rose Garden to explain himself.

Contraband Dogs World's Busiest Border

John Ward Anderson
in San Ysidro

UNITED STATES Customs Inspector Robert Bickers — the "linebacker" who tackles drug dealers trying to run back to Mexico when their cars are nabbed in surprise inspections — pointed to a white Honda Accord and ordered the driver to open the trunk.

The well-dressed, middle-aged man stepped out of his car. That was his first mistake. "He has a latch inside that he could have used to open the trunk, but he got out real slow, and you could tell he didn't want to do it," Bickers said.

The car, which was in a long line of vehicles waiting to clear U.S. customs, was about 2 feet inside the United States. The driver popped the lid. There, neatly stacked to the brim, were 576 pounds of marijuana in white, brick-sized packages. The man tried to bolt, but Bickers quickly subdued him, in the process shoving him down against his illegal cargo.

Just a routine bust on a typical day at San Ysidro, the world's busiest border crossing, where 4,500 people per hour — or about 40 million per year — test the nation's front-line defenses against drug trafficking and illegal immigration.

A day at this massive, hectic, 24-lane border crossing illustrates the challenge of opening the border to greater trade with a partner in the North American Free Trade Agreement while closing it against the growing flood of illegal drugs and immigrants.

"It's a balancing act between the free flow of commerce and the ability of the government to interdict contraband — aliens or narcotics," said Rudy Camacho, head of the U.S. Customs Service's San Diego District, adding that the dual goals need not collide. "Better targeting [of smugglers] gives better traffic management. We don't want to shut the border down. We want to shut down the willful violators."

These competing goals coexist along the entire 2,000-mile U.S.-Mexico border, crossed by 84 million cars and 232 million people a year — and by 70 percent of the cocaine, 80 percent of the methamphetamine and foreign-grown marijuana and 30 percent of the heroin that wind up on American streets.

San Ysidro has attracted its share of controversy recently, with allegations that customs employees have helped Mexicans smuggle drugs into the United States.

Customs officials deny the charges. The crossing point also figures in a broader investigation of whether Immigration and Naturalization Services officials falsified arrest reports to inflate the success of a program to stop illegal immigration.

San Ysidro is an intense microcosm of the border. During one recent day, more than 35,000 vehicles and more than 100,000 people crossed into the United States, while inspectors made eight drug busts and arrested 75 people trying to enter the country illegally.

The day began early for Inspector Gus Reynoso. At about 7 a.m., while patrolling the massive blacktop area where hundreds of cars line up and wait to enter the United States, Reynoso noticed a light blue Volkswagen with a suspiciously shallow well behind the back seat and ordered the car to undergo a second, more detailed inspection. A drug-sniffing dog hopped into the car and scratched furiously at the back well, where investigators found a hidden compartment containing 18 pounds of marijuana.

About 60 percent of all drugs seized at San Ysidro are first detected in the long lines of cars that stack up in the 120-foot area between the actual border and the crescent-shaped U.S. inspection station that stretches across the highway. Computers in customs booths spit out information about suspicious cars while teams of inspectors, some accompanied by dogs, roam the lines of traffic, arbitrarily asking motorists to open their trunks.

Fewer than 3 percent of the cars that use the crossing are inspected, so the unpredictable trunk-pop is designed to raise the stakes on smugglers. And the dogs' senses are so acute that even through the thick exhaust they can smell a marijuana cigarette wrapped in plastic and hidden inside a dashboard.

The huge, congested area where cars line up is a center of activity 24 hours a day, every day of the year. There are drug busts, car fires and fights between motorists. Pregnant women run into the area to give birth, winning U.S. citizenship for their babies. Drug-smugglers screech their cars into dangerous U-turns to race back to Mexico.

Bickers, "the linebacker," said he doesn't have much use for border politics and the loosening restrictions that NAFTA ushered in. "We've made a treaty with a country that's so corrupt they can't even trust their police officers," he said just minutes before his 576-pound marijuana bust.

Allies 'Spying on U.S. Firms'

France and Israel have denied accusations by the CIA of industrial espionage, writes **Paul Blustein**

FRANCE and Israel are denying charges by the Central Intelligence Agency that they engage in economic espionage against the United States, but documents in a report issued by the Senate Intelligence Committee appear to provide case studies of the two allies' spying on U.S. military contractors and high-tech firms.

The economic espionage charge is "absolutely not true," said Bernard Valero, a spokesman for the French Embassy in Washington. His counterpart at the Israeli Embassy, Gadi Baltiansky, said his country "is not involved in any sort of espionage, either within or against the U.S."

The French and Israeli denials came in response to a CIA statement that was made in written answers to questions by members of the Senate intelligence panel.

The CIA statement declared: "We have only identified about a half dozen governments that we believe have extensively engaged in economic espionage as we define it. These governments include France, Israel, China, Russia, Iran, and Cuba." The statement, dated May 10, was included in a report released last month by the intelligence committee.

As for Japan, often accused of high-tech thievery, the CIA said that nation's efforts to collect economic data "are mostly legal and involve seeking openly available material or hiring well-placed consultants."

The accusations against France and Israel aren't surprising to U.S. intelligence experts, who have long viewed the two countries as aggressive collectors of economic intelligence. But the Senate report is a rare public endorsement of such charges by the CIA, which apparently sees these two U.S. allies as prime targets in its rapidly expanding mission to guard against the theft of U.S. industrial secrets.

The Senate report contained documents that appear to list specific instances in which the two countries' spy agencies were allegedly obtaining technologically sensitive information from U.S. firms using covert means. The report includes February 1996 testimony by a General Accounting Office national security specialist, David E. Cooper, before the committee. In it, Cooper cites evidence from "a U.S. intelligence agency" of economic intelligence-gathering by countries named only by initials "A" through "E."

Cooper couldn't be reached last week to ascertain which country is which, but the description of Country B — and some of the incidents cited — overwhelmingly suggest that it is France. Country B "considers it vital to its national security to be self-sufficient in manufacturing arms," and "needs . . . cutting-edge technologies to compete with U.S. systems in the international arms market," Cooper testified.

According to the GAO official's testimony, Country B's intelligence agency "recruited agents at the European offices of three U.S. computer and electronics firms" in the late 1980s. "The agents apparently were stealing unusually sensitive technical information for a struggling Country B company."

This case appears to match stories reported about five years ago in the French magazine L'Express and in the Wall Street Journal in which a French-based official of Texas Instruments Inc. was reportedly giving sensitive technical information to French intelligence, which was passing it on to the financially ailing computer firm Cie. des Machines-Bull.

In addition, according to Cooper's testimony, Country B companies and government officials have been investigated for efforts to acquire "advanced abrasive technology" and "for targeting software that performs high-speed, real time computational analysis that can be used in a missile attack system."

Defense Week magazine, in an article published last February, said it had confirmed through three separate sources that Country B was France.

The Senate report also includes a "counterintelligence profile" of Israel by the Defense Investigative Service, a Defense Department agency.

The counterintelligence profile notes that the most highly publicized incident involving Israel espionage was the 1985 arrest of Navy Intelligence analyst Jonathan Pollard for conveying "vast quantities of classified information" to Israel.

It cites other examples as well: In one, in the mid-1980s, "a large DOD contractor hosting Israeli visitors experienced the loss of test equipment during field testing relating to the manufacture of a radar system. Two years later, a request was received from Israel to repair the piece of missing equipment."

Conscious Effort to Explain

John Crowley

SEARCHING FOR MEMORY
The Brain, the Mind, and the Past
By Daniel L. Schacter
Basic Books. 398pp. $27

"THE FIELDS, the caves, the dens of Memory cannot be counted," says Augustine; "their fullness cannot be counted nor the kinds of things counted that fill them . . . I force my way in among them, even as far as my power reaches, and nowhere find an end." The common conviction we have, that there are vast spaces inside us — inside our brains or minds specifically — receives an odd corroboration or metaphorical support from current brain research: PET (Post Emission Tomography) scans can be made of the brain in action, remembering, thinking and feeling; the brain lights up here, then there, then in another place as different kinds of retrieval and storage work are done. I imagine them like the spectral lights along the paths at Mammoth Cave, glinting greenly on the stalactites.

Such scans form a large part of the evidence Daniel Schacter presents in his book for how memory works and which parts of the brain take which part in it. He combines them with other tools, such as the evidence of partial losses of mental function that result from damage to particular areas of the brain, to construct a theory of memory as a combination of discrete processes that work together, not always easily but with a remarkable efficiency overall.

Schacter tells bizarre tales of harmed brains in the Oliver Sacks mode, stories that challenge our assumption that our minds are unitary wholes: people who can remember the names of living things but not man-made objects, or tools but not clothes, or the names of everything except musical instruments; people who can tell real from imaginary objects but can't assign the right names to them, call a cherry an apple, a fork a toothbrush.

Or take amnesic Gene, who was fed certain trivial but untrue factoids, like, "Bob Hope's father was a



ILLUSTRATION: BARTEK MALYSA

fireman" or "Jane Fonda's favorite breakfast food is oatmeal." Gene quickly forgot these exchanges with the researchers but later on sometimes remembered the non-facts when cued — except he now believed he had always known them, had maybe read them in People magazine or heard them on the radio. (Perhaps he will eventually pass them on, and they will enter the collective memory, unremovable ever after.)

Gene's difficulty in this instance Schacter labels "source amnesia," and he includes it under what he refers to again and again as "memory's fragile power." As astonishing as what we can remember is how easily we can forget: not only matter but its source. Sometimes we can only remember something when we are in the same emotional or other state as we were when we first learned it — like the rich man in Chaplin's film City Lights who meets the Tramp when drunk, always knows him in his cups but keeps throwing him out of the house as a stranger the morning after. Schacter calls this "state-dependent retrieval" and can actually test for it: If we memorize lists of words when we are depressed, we will remember them better later on if we are depressed than if we are happy.

But didn't we know this, or couldn't we have guessed it? Like much mind science over the last hundred years, Schacter's research sometimes turns up the thuddingly obvious. He reports that he and his colleagues "carried out experiments in which we have found that looking at [family] photos enhances recollective experience in elderly adults." Research likewise determines that we remember striking and affecting events longer and more fully (though not necessarily always with complete accuracy) than mundane events from the same period. Well, yes, no doubt. "When you feel sad," Schacter says, "it somehow seems all too easy to think negative thoughts and remember painful experiences." There is a name for this too — "mood-congruent retrieval." But does it need a name?

Many of Schacter's findings, however, we could not have guessed. Working with amnesic patients, Schacter managed to train them, by a system of cuing, to memorize quite complex tasks. Much later, up to a year later, patients could still do the task without error — even though they had no explicit memory of ever having worked on a computer before.

So we can forget that we remember, and we can remember that we have forgotten (the infuriating and shocking knowledge that Alzheimer's patients in early stages must bear, that they have lost something that cannot be recovered). When the possibility of remembering that we have forgotten passes, we suffer a double loss — but it is one that only others can grieve for.

Inevitably, Schacter and his research have been enlisted in the current memory wars: the controversy over whether episodes of serious childhood sexual and physical abuse can be "repressed" to the point of being completely forgotten until elicited by chance conjunctions of cues or whether such memories are illusory ones, created in suggestible patients by overeager therapists using hypnosis, trance writing and similar techniques.

Schacter points out that other kinds of trauma — those of men in war or of Holocaust survivors — tend to be not only remembered but impossible to forget; living in spite of them involves a constant willed act of suppression that, however good at it survivors become, never blots out the fact of the suffering. On the other hand, he presents evidence that stress — psychological stress or damage to the brain — releases a class of steroid hormones called glucocorticoids, which over time can destroy neurons and brain tissue, particularly in the hippocampus, a region of the brain involved in many kinds of memory work. (How such damaged memories could be later recovered remains unclear.)

Daniel Schacter seems on the evidence to be a good researcher and a good man, that is to say both smart and wise, despite his taste for self-evident conclusions. His many careful distinctions in the recovered-memory controversy are valuable and sane; he is obviously pleased to display his findings that the memories of our elders are not so bad as is often thought and that the reminiscing of old people is healthy for them, so long as it does not chiefly "glorify the past" but focuses on "reconciling past and present" instead.

THE LANGUAGE in which Schacter describes the workings of thought and remembering, as expressed in the functioning of the brain, is sometimes slack and figurative, but this is surely due to the fact that so much is still not understood. A region of the brain "carries out functions" or "deals with" information that "flows into cells"; the brain "funnels inputs" into appropriate receptors; "encoded" memories grow "fuzzy or blurred" over time. Just what happens in these processes — how a picture of the past that can be retrieved into conscious awareness can be encoded onto neurons and brain tissues — remain unexplained.

The great goal of mind/brain studies such as Schacter's is to account for consciousness as a biological fact. From one end of the problem comes research in brain chemistry and the PET scans Schacter refers to, and from the other come clinical observations of dissociative disorders (what until recently were called "multiple personalities") and "psychogenic" amnesia, massive forgetting without observable brain damage. We are not close yet, but philosophical investigations of consciousness and research in the biology of the brain are bearing down on each other like two locomotives. They will eventually meet, and the resulting collision will make both unrecognizable.

Distinguished Quartet

Alan Ryan

HOUSE OF GLASS
By Pramoedya Ananta Toer
Translated from the Indonesian by Max Lane
William Morrow. 365pp. $26

IF INDONESIAN novelist Pramoedya Ananta Toer wins the Nobel Prize — which he richly deserves — it will bring glory to him and further shame to his country. Pramoedya was born in 1925 in Java. In 1965, he was imprisoned, without trial, for political activities. He was released in 1979 and placed under city arrest in Jakarta. He is still under city arrest, all his books are banned in his own country, and people, including an Indonesian publisher, have been imprisoned for violating the ban. Nevertheless, his books circulate widely and secretly in Indonesia in manuscript form.

This will be no surprise to anyone who has read his books. The inexorable forward movement of history is the subject at the heart of Pramoedya's greatest work, The Buru Tetralogy.

House Of Glass concludes the tetralogy in English, and its appearance completes one of the most distinguished American publishing projects of recent years. The opening volume, This Earth Of Mankind, was first published in English in Australia in 1982 and, in a revised translation, appeared in the U.S. in 1991. Child Of All Nations followed in the same year, and the third, Footsteps, appeared in 1995. Coinciding with the hardcover publication of House Of Glass, Penguin has brought out handsome matching editions of the first three volumes in trade paperback. You'll want them all because you have to start at the beginning.

The story begins near the end of the 19th century, in what was then the Dutch East Indies. At the center is a brilliant young Javanese student named Minke. His intelligence, his education, his language ability (he masters the Dutch of the colonial authorities), and his questioning mind bring him in contact with all the various factions and levels of society. When he falls in love with an Indo-European girl, his need to identify his own loyalties comes to dominate his life.

Struggling to find his own voice, he takes up a career as a writer, while his political views are shaped, on the one hand, by a cruelly oppressive colonial regime and, on the other, by a native population that has yet to realize it is a powerful political force. With the start of the 20th century, Minke enters medical school, partly in an effort to leave behind the contradictions and frustrations of his political world. But history presses in on him from every side. He becomes publisher of a dissident newspaper. And at the end of the third volume, the newspaper is banned and he is arrested.

House of Glass begins at that point. Up until now, Minke has narrated the tale, but this volume is narrated by Pangemanann, the police commissioner who arrested him. Ironically, his situation is similar to Minke's. He is a native, educated at the Sorbonne, who has made his life and his career within the structures of the colonial authorities. And, in fact, shortly after Minke's arrest, Pangemanann is promoted from his local position to a national one in which his prime responsibility is to become an expert on dissident leaders and groups.

His anguish is all the worse because he has, for years, admired Minke and considered him his "teacher." Minke's successors and rivals flare on the landscape, and Pangemanann must use his understanding of them to help keep them down. His position is increasingly intolerable, and he grows progressively more physically ill as his moral and psychological struggle becomes more painful and hopeless. "I was neither sun, nor moon, nor star," he tells us. "I was just a man alone, Pangemanann, who could find no way out."

House Of Glass is necessarily darker and denser than its predecessors, less filled with color and characters and incidents, because its action is internal. And yet its scope is broader, because its narrator's mind ranges over history and his own contemporary world, in which, slowly in some cases, violently in others, oppressed peoples are beginning to sense their own strength.

The Buru Tetralogy is one of the 20th century's great artistic creations, a work of the richest variety, color, size and import, founded on a profound belief in mankind's potential for greatness and shaped by a huge compassion for mankind's weakness. The tetralogy has already been translated into 20 languages; translator Max Lane has devoted nearly two decades to this English version. (A member of Australia's diplomatic corps, he was recalled from Indonesia when his first translations of Pramoedya's writing caused a political stir.)

His work has been worth the time and effort. If there were a Nobel Prize for translations, he would deserve it.

Turning back the welfare clock

Larry Elliott on the cynical attempt to blame economic failings on the poor and unemployed

ONE of the things we have had to learn over the past 17 years is that nothing is ever the Government's fault. The Arabs and the unions were to blame for the first Thatcher recession. The Germans and George Soros were responsible for Black Wednesday. The Labour party caused the BSE scare. Anybody but Michael Howard carries the can when another jailbird escapes from prison.

Indeed, a student of Conservative rule might be interested in working up a thesis on how an administration that extols the virtues of individual responsibility has proved pathologically incapable of saying: "Yes, we got it wrong. Sorry."

The latest example of this tendency — although it has been evident throughout the Tories' four terms — is to blame Britain's economic underperformance on the poor. Even when measured by the right's own debased coinage, this is a monumental piece of cynicism.

Put simply, the thesis is this: the generosity of the welfare state has nurtured a culture in which the poor have little incentive to work, and so we have armies of work-shy delinquents, benefit scroungers and single mothers putting an intolerable burden on ordinary taxpayers.

The result is that Britain has to pay higher taxes than the dynamic economies of south-east Asia, where welfare provision is minimal and growth rates much higher. So all we have to do is cut benefits, prod the poor out of their self-imposed ghetto and, bingo, growth rates will soar. This will be good, not just for those of us who pay taxes but for the poor themselves. Any resistance to this scheme on the part of those dependent on benefits would be an act of grotesque selfishness.

Thirty years ago, politicians would have dismissed this as dangerous hokum, arguing that welfare bills were linked to broad macro-economic conditions, ie, the chances of the less-fortunate finding a job, and the distribution of income between rich and poor. Back in the early sixties, when unemployment was well under 500,000, social security transfers amounted to around 6 per cent of gross domestic product. By the time the jobless total peaked in the recession of the early 1990s they accounted for more than 12 per cent of GDP.

In addition, it would have been pointed out that benefits have become less, not more, generous under the Conservatives. To suggest that people would rather live on benefits, which are bound to fall in value, rather than take a job which might lead to higher real rewards is to deny we are the rational economic agents the new right insists we are.

But these are now deeply unfashionable notions. It is far more convenient to assert that if the poor are either too stupid or too lazy to find a job, that's their problem.

Once, the poor could rely on the parties of the left to defend them. No longer. Across the political spectrum the stick has replaced the carrot, as Bill Clinton proved in the US last week when he turned the clock back more than 60 years and removed the New Deal safety net.

Clinton's fear was that he would be branded as "soft" on welfare by Bob Dole, thereby pushing the swing voters — the so-called Reagan Democrats — back into the arms of the Republicans. The president has read Galbraith's Culture Of Contentment; he knows there are two Americas out there, an affluent majority that votes and an impoverished (yet sizeable) minority that doesn't.

Britain is also being softened up for the "end of welfare as we know it". The language of political discourse has already subtly changed, so that even supposedly unbiased reports on radio and TV talk not of the welfare state but of the welfare state "burden".

Before going further, it is worth asking what motivated the pioneers of welfare provision and what evidence there is that high spending

The rapid growth of the Asian tigers has given impetus to the attack on welfare

on welfare has a deleterious impact on economic performance.

The first question could easily have been answered by the social reformers of the 19th century. By today's standards, they would scarcely be called bleeding-heart liberals — yet they realised that disease, malnutrition, poor sanitation, illiteracy and slums were having a damaging effect on industrial efficiency and productivity. The final flowering of this idea came after the second world war, when Beveridge's social security system was seen as being inextricably bound up with Keynes's ideas for full employment. The West now appears to be suffering from a form of collective, historical amnesia.

The second point — that there is an inverse relationship between welfare spending and growth — is now accepted as a truism. Like other such truisms, it deserves scrutiny.

In absolute terms, it is entirely groundless. Even at the height of its mid-Victorian splendour, Britain's growth rate was 1-2 per cent per annum, compared with an average of 3 per cent a year during the golden age of welfarism in the fifties and sixties.

Only by looking at Britain's growth rates relative to other countries can the argument be made that burgeoning social security costs are acting as a brake on expansion and prosperity. Even so, the evidence is less than conclusive, as an article by Tony Atkinson in the latest edition of New Economy shows.

According to OECD data, the Netherlands spends around 14 percentage points more of its GDP on social security than the US — and if the welfare slashers are right this should be reflected in a much higher trend rate of growth in the US. But growth rates in the two countries over the last complete economic cycle (1982-91) were almost identical — 2.9 per cent in the US against 2.7 per cent in the Netherlands.

Trawling through 10 recent studies linking welfare to growth, Atkinson says that two found that the impact of higher social transfers was insignificant, four that they led to lower growth, and four that they caused higher growth.

So, while one piece of research shows that a reduction of 5 percentage points in welfare spending would increase the annual growth rate by 1 percentage point, another says that it would decrease it by 0.9 per cent. Atkinson concludes, rightly, that it is hard to see how this welter of evidence is conclusive one way or another.

In addition, he questions whether the new fad for private pension provision is all that it is cracked up to be. While accepting that pay-as-you-go pensions may reduce the rate of savings, and hence capital accumulation and growth, Atkinson says that targeting pensions for the needy may lead to a savings trap, in which people who have an incentive to dis-save in order to qualify for the state safety net.

In the end, it has been the rapid growth of the Asian tigers that has given impetus to the attack on welfare. But these are catch-up economies in the way that Japan was in the fifties and sixties. Their growth rates will moderate as they reach maturity, just as Japan's did. Slower rates of growth will automatically add to the pressure for increased welfare spending. If in the future this pressure is less strong than in the UK, that will be because the Asian states are increasing expenditure on education now, recognising that such spending adds to the productive capacity of a modern, knowledge-driven economy.

Little of this, however, will cut ice with those intent on ending "the welfare state as we know it" . . . because the real point is not to help the poor, but to help themselves.

Bob Solow, the US economist, put it neatly when he said that he found the debate about sustainability puzzling because "those who are so urgent about not inflicting poverty on the future have to explain why they do not attach even higher priority to reducing poverty today."

In other words, they say that sacrifices may have to be made to help the poor. But not today. And certainly not by us.

Motor City turns to clean power

Mark Tran in Detroit

IT IS named the EV1. It is powered by electricity. But far from being an updated milk-float or Sinclair C5, it is being touted as the world's most advanced car.

General Motors, which has spent $350 million on its development, hopes to steal a march on its rivals with the two-seater. But the future of the American car industry — arguably the world [illegible] — [illegible] riding on the success or failure of the $35,000 car.

The need for such vehicles was highlighted last week when the British government announced a crackdown on air pollution and charged local councils with [illegible] up plans to curb emissions. The era of the clean or electric car is rapidly approaching.

Competitors have voiced scepticism that GM will see any return on its six-year investment. But with its sights set on the world market, it is already working on the next generation of electric vehicles, with mega-cities such as Mexico City, São Paolo and Beijing fuelling demand for an affordable, non-polluting car.

Since GM announced that the EV1 will go on sale later this year, Toyota, Honda and Ford have said they will follow suit. In Europe, France has run the world's biggest trial yet for electric cars, with Peugeot-Citroën. Next year a new experiment, Tulip, will test demand in Tours for electric hire-cars.

Fast forward . . . the EV1's limited [illegible] appeal to American consumers
PHOTOGRAPH: KIM KULISH

For now the EV1 holds cen[illegible] stage as it goes o[illegible]les, San Diego, Phoenix [illegible] Tucson. But selling it will be tough, especially when you can buy a Cadillac or a Jeep Grand Cherokee for the same money.

The EV1 experience begins even before you get in. No keys are needed. You punch in your code on a series of numbers by the door to unlock it. Its engine is eerily quiet, emitting a high-pitched whine as you accelerate. Engine noise could have been ultra-low, but test drivers wanted to be able to hear it. Acceleration is fast, reflecting the influence of the Lotus design engineers — it can reach 60mph in 8.5 seconds, and top speed is 80mph — and its range is 70 miles for the city and 90 miles for motorway driving. It [illegible] roughly three hours to re[illegible] battery, and a 220-volt [illegible] expected to cost $2,000.

It may be asked why it has taken so long for manufacturers to come up with a commercially viable electric car. GM, for one, has a long experience of electric vehicle production, reaching back to its 1912 trucks.

"With the environmental pressures we face, there is a requirement for a clean, quiet vehicle. Electric cars will find their place. This will not be a short-term phenomenon," said Bob Purcell, executive director of GM Electric Vehicles.

Political pressures have played their part, with California leading the campaign for cleaner cars. GM's decision to market the car and California's consideration of zero emission guidelines may have been enough to create the market.

But the EV1 has also had to wait for the necessary technological breakthroughs. While most have focused on battery development, engineers and technicians also had to come up with the appropriate power-switching devices to convert DC to AC power and feed it to the motor.

In preparation for the EV1's debut, GM built 30 test cars in 11 cities, where families drove the cars for two weeks at a time. It found widespread acceptance as a third car, suitable for running errands, where the typical 40-mile commuter trip was well within the EV1's range. Test families said if it had a 100-mile range it would become the family's second car, and GM is confident that the next generation of electric cars will achieve that range.

At present, the EV1 is destined solely for the US market. GM has declined to talk about sales estimates for fear of losing face if the EV1 fails. But the carmaker expects it to be a "low-volume vehicle" — perhaps a loss leader but also a launch pad for more sophisticated vehicles.

In an indication of GM's long-term strategy, the EV1 has already been shipped to Beijing for test drives by senior Chinese government officials. GM chairman Jack Smith believes that the developing countries will provide excellent opportunities for a cheap advanced vehicle, one step up from the motor scooter. China has already expressed a strong interest in electric cars, for obvious reasons, and has the technical competence to sustain a mass market for them.

Nicholas Bannister adds: The main problem for the EV1 remains its capacity. Despite research costing billions, the electric battery cannot rival its petrol-engined counterparts. As a result, many car firms are looking at hybrid vehicles — battery-powered cars with a petrol engine for long journeys.

There have been some false dawns. "People have been researching this for many years and no one has come up with anything significantly better. The sodium-sulphur battery was hailed as a breakthrough, but it had to be abandoned for road vehicles on safety grounds," said Aubrey Corbett, of [illegible] department. The temperatures involved would have been too high.

Manufacturers are also faced with the problem of how to provide the ancillary electrical activities, such as heating and lighting, without unduly draining the batteries. There have been attempts to overcome problems such as heating by having a separate thermal store, but these are very heavy, requiring more power to propel the vehicle, thus reducing the effectiveness of the main drive batteries.

Ken Lilley, of Rover's electric and hybrid car team, said the biggest challenge was not so much a battery's weight or size but its cost. There have been significant developments in the use of photo-voltaic cells to harness the sun's energy, but Mr Corbett said they were still far too expensive.

HEAD OF REGIONAL OFFICE - WEST AFRICA

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Closing date: 4th October 1996.

Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, Rwanda

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Closing date: 29th September 1996.

Both posts are offered on a 25 month contract and have accompanied status. Salaries should be tax free. The Social Policy Adviser is a new post and the grade will therefore be reviewed after 6 months. You can also expect a generous benefits package, including accommodation, flights and other living expenses.

For further details and an application form, please write for reference HRO/WA to Mary Austen, Overseas Personnel Administrator - Africa and for reference SPA/R to Alice Desira, Overseas Personnel Administrator at: SCF, 17 Grove Lane, London SE5 8RD or fax 0171 793 7610.

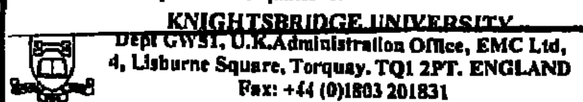
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Abbreviations: P - Professor; AP - Associate Professor; ASP - Assistant Professor; SL - Senior Lecturer; L - Lecturer; AL - Assistant Lecturer.

For further details of any of the above staff vacancies please contact the Appointments Department, ACU, 36 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0PF, UK (internat. tel. +44 171 813 3024 [24 hour answerphone]; fax +44 171 813 3055; e-mail: appts@acu.ac.uk), quoting reference number of post(s). Details will be sent by airmail/first class post. A sample copy of the publication Appointments in Commonwealth Universities, including subscription details, is available from the same source.

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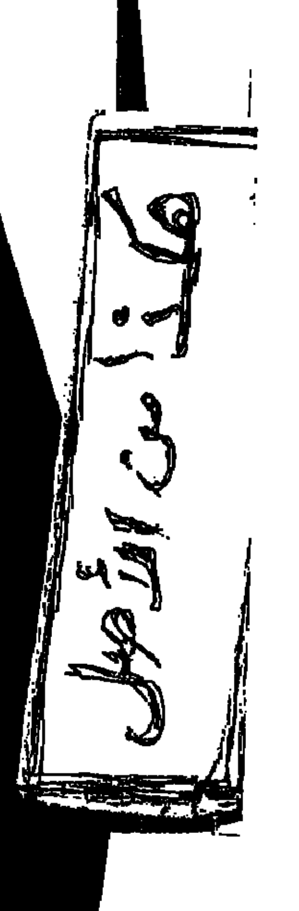
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Please write for further details to:- Dr Sadiq al-Muscati, Director-General of Environmental Affairs, Ministry of Regional Municipalities and Environment, P.O. Box 323, Muscat, Postal Code 113, Sultanate of Oman.
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NATURAL RESOURCES AND COMMUNITY WETLANDS ADVISORS

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- to strengthen the national capacity for Wetlands Conservation and Management.
- to develop the capacity for Wetlands Conservation and Management at district level; and.
- to develop and extend methodologies for Wetland Resource Management by local communities.

The Wetlands Phase III Project is expected to commence in the last quarter of 1996 with financial assistance from the Royal Netherlands Government (subject to approval)

Technical Advisor - Natural Resources

He/She will provide technical support to the Wetlands Unit in Wetlands Assessment, Planning and Management. The Advisor will also provide support in general Programme Coordination and Management and will travel widely. The successful applicant will have a Postgraduate Degree in Natural Resources Assessment, Planning and Management, and at least ten years professional experience preferably including Wetlands related resources and in Africa. Management and training experience, good interpersonal and team building skills, and an ability to organise and motivate others will be essential attributes.

Technical Advisor - Community Resource Management

The Advisor will provide technical support to the Wetlands Unit to develop and extend methodologies for community-based Wetlands Resource Management. The Advisor will provide support in planning, participatory assessment and implementation, and transfer of skills. The successful applicant will have a relevant Postgraduate Degree and at least seven years of professional experience in community participation in the use and management of natural resources, preferably in Africa. He/she will have experience in and/or understanding of decentralised/district-based and participatory natural resource use and management. Good interpersonal, team building, training skills, and an ability to organise and motivate others will be essential attributes. An informed interest in conservation and wetlands wise use would be advantageous.

Both appointments are for three years and will be based in Kampala with the T.A. Community, Wetlands Management engaging in extensive fieldwork. Remuneration will be commensurate with experience.

Applications and Curriculum Vitae should be sent to:- The Regional Representative, IUCN Eastern Africa Regional Office, P.O. Box 68200, Nairobi, Kenya; Fax: 254 2 890615 by 13 September 1996.

Gateway to the BBC's future

John Birt on his hopes and fears for the digital age

SOME of the conditions which created our world are ending for ever. Our world was borne of spectrum scarcity, a handful of channels and of regulation. The analogue technology which underpinned 70 years of British broadcasting is to give way to a brand new and different technology — digital. The impact will be seismic.

The digital age will have three key characteristics: we enter a world of plenty, where hundreds or thousands of channels and services become possible. We enter a world of interactivity, and we enter a world where services can be obtained from any point on Earth.

We will be able to bank or to shop from our armchairs: moving pictures will lure us to book a holiday; or buy a car or a new pair of football boots. Tap in your PIN number and they'll be delivered direct to your home that night, along with your groceries.

This awesome vision of a mature, interactive, high-quality-picture digital future is probably 10-15 years away. But the digital world is already upon us, and advancing rapidly: indeed, anyone who wants a feel of the digital age should surf the Internet. The dizzy array of web sites — offering valuable information, eccentricity or simply the chance to commune with like-minded individuals — gives an exhilarating hint of our future: global democracy, warts and all.

But if the future of British broadcasting is to be as glorious as its past, then a number of threats, dangers and difficulties need to be overcome.

The first danger is that the digital age will be marked not by openness and diversity but by dominance. Broadcasting will be only one among a number of competitors for the attention of the consumer in the home.

When you switch on your TV/PC in the year 2010, I fear BBC1 will not appear as it does now. In all probability, someone will pop up trying to sell you something. The vital gateway into the home in the digital age will be controlled by those who own means of delivery into the home; the navigation system which helps the consumer locate what is available; the encryption system which encodes and decodes the services; the subscriber or transaction management system which extracts payments for services used — probably all contained in a single set-top box.

The battle for control of and a share of the enormous economic value passing through that gateway will be one of the great business battles shaping the next century, to rival the 19th century battle for the railroad or the 20th century battle for office software systems. But no group should be able to abuse control of that set-top box to inhibit competition. The hallmark of the digital age must be full cultural and economic freedom.

The second set of dangers is that the easy availability of programmes and services worldwide will encourage the emergence of a single global culture, and that the huge increase in competition will result in a drop in programme standards. A single global culture will mean an Americanised world culture. Much of the distribution of new programmes and services will come via telecom wires and is therefore unstoppable by those who favour quotas or other means.

The way to counteract this force is to husband and cherish our own, and other, rich and unique national cultures, identities and heritages to ensure that real choice remains strong.

We have seen in other countries that when commercial competition bites, choice narrows. The most effective means of countering the risks of the globalisation of culture, and declining standards will be by sustaining their publicly-funded broadcasters. In the United Kingdom, that means sustaining the BBC.

The BBC will help lead the way into the digital age with a programme-led vision. We will offer — perhaps as soon as next year — better picture and sound quality, more choice, and greater convenience. We will supply 24-hour news and themed channels exposing the many treasures of the world's richest archive.

THE new technology will allow us to offer exciting alternatives to the main channel schedules on BBC1 and BBC2, multiple choices varying from hour to hour. We either join it or be history. The BBC's most lively minds can immediately see the creative possibilities.

The digital age will present a formidable financial challenge. The recent financial history of the BBC has been miraculous. There has been no increase in the level of the licence fee, in real terms, since 1985. Indeed there was a 3 per cent cut in the real value of the licence fee in the early nineties. There has been some growth in our income — from reducing licence fee evasion; and from a slight growth in the number of households — but the growth has been modest.

The commercial arm, BBC Worldwide, is a growing success. We are Europe's biggest exporter in broadcasting. But commercial activity still only accounts for 5 per cent of income. The BBC is 95 per cent dependent on the licence fee. Contrast that with our costs in the same period: sports rights costs have risen 800 per cent over 10 years, talent and other rights costs are rising rapidly under the impact of greater broadcast competition. BBC pay is now broadly competitive and rises in line with the general labour market which is some 2 per cent faster than the retail price index. Funding rising pay and rights, and our enhanced and expanded services, was achieved by a massive attack on the bloated, inefficient BBC that history bequeathed us. That BBC produced wonderful programmes. Now we can produce even more.

Preparing the BBC for the digital age will be a task at least as great as the transformation the BBC has accomplished in recent years. In the next few years we will need to invest in digital production facilities, digitising the archive, creating a digital distribution network inside the BBC — our own superhighway. And we will need to invest in the extra programme services digital technology will free us to offer.

How can we afford this substantial investment? The BBC has become practised in self-help, and self-help is where we'll start.

Digital technology will allow us to make another step-change in our efficiency. We are convinced that we can pioneer and establish new industry standards and bring another leap forward in the BBC's efficiency. We will invest the substantial savings in new digital services for our licence payers. We can help ourselves further by using the new technologies to introduce a variety of new commercially-funded services, at home and abroad, and to re-invest the gains in our free-to-air services.

But neither a new leap forward in efficiency, nor a vigorous drive to increase our commercial revenue will be enough. At some point in the future — and for the first time since 1985 — we shall need a real increase in the level of the licence fee.

While the BBC has been coping with static funding, money has poured into the rest of the industry. This year, satellite and cable revenues will overtake BBC Television revenues — an historic moment. Some time around 1998 they will overtake ITV's revenue as well.

If our relative financial position in the industry were to deteriorate in this way, the BBC's role as the national broadcaster would be diminished. If we are to remain in step with the nation, our licence income should grow as the nation's wealth grows. Over the past 10 years, spend on public services in the UK has grown broadly in line with national wealth. BBC spend has lagged significantly behind. If the BBC is to maintain its role, then its income will need to rise.

The BBC is the most successful cultural institution in the world, one of the great inventions of the 20th century. Let it flower; let it blossom, let it flourish; let it pioneer; let it grow. It is not difficult to see why it became easier to bash the BBC than to revere it. But do not take the BBC for granted.

John Birt is Director-General of the BBC. This is an edited version of the James MacTaggart Memorial Lecture which he delivered at the Edinburgh Television Festival last week



Bringing the force to book . . . three speaking out are Janet Blangsted (far left), Karen Duffield and Siobhan Walsh (above)

WPC Blues

Enough is enough for the policewomen who suffer sexual harassment. **Maggie O'Kane** explains why more and more are going public with their complaints

IT WASN'T having "Dyke" scratched on her locker, or the inflatable doll in the locker room, or even the shift with a police officer who went on about how he got his girlfriend to shave her pubic hair and did she?

It wasn't the pornographic magazines left lying on their desks, the Pig Of The Week competition for the policeman who could "shag" the ugliest woman, or even the time they all went to Manchester to buy cheap suits and boasted the day after of how one of them had buggered a woman after stuffing her knickers in her mouth and how she was too drunk to remember.

It is never just one incident, it is the relentless, obsessive harassment and crude jokes that hundreds of policewomen suffer. But, despite the fact that there were at least 50 claims of sexual harassment or sexual discrimination brought to industrial tribunals last year, no policewoman has won a case since 1983, when Wendy de Laulay won the first and only one in England and Wales.

Cases can often take up to two years to reach tribunal level, which means a long period of humiliation and ostracism — women cannot change posts while a complaint is going through. So now Britain's policewomen are turning to the press to tell their story.

Judge McCallum's recent statement in Bradford that 41-year-old PC Robert Brindle should have had a "sound ticking off" for allegedly grabbing the breasts of female colleagues drew an enraged response from, among others, former Detective Chief Inspector Lynne Tolan, who investigated the case. "The message", she said, "could rightly be concluded as: 'Join Britain's modern police service girls — and get your tits groped'."

In recent weeks, three policewomen who say they were forced to leave work because of sexual harassment have turned not to their superior officers but to media wizard Max Clifford for help in getting their cases heard. Clifford is representing them free of charge because "I make thousands from the stars and they need my help". Help so far has been front-page stories in the Sun and Express on the details of sexual harassment and abuse in police stations around the country.

Siobhan Walsh rang Clifford after the Bradford case was tossed out of court. "I read what the judge said and I thought 'Thank God I didn't go to the tribunal' because it takes years and ends up getting nowhere."

Walsh, aged 29, decided to go public last month, two years after being told by her superior that if she pursued a complaint of harassment she would be "finished". "I'd had enough. The women I worked with were called split arse, handbags and plonks."

Walsh, who worked as a research officer in an intelligence unit, said that she tried to laugh off the jokes at first. Then, after two male colleagues forced her to bend over while they rubber-stamped the station name on her backside and, on another occasion, after two officers held her down while another simulated sex with her, she began the official complaints procedure. She decided not to go ahead when she was warned off by her superior officer and told: "That's not the way we do things here."

She was also aware that the procedure could take months "and you are not allowed to move station, so your life becomes absolutely unbearable". So her story appeared in the Sun. "I didn't do it for the money. It was a couple of hundred pounds. I did it because I want to see things change in the police. I told the personnel officer on the day I left that I was going to shout it from the rooftops and warn women about what it was like in the force. This latest case in Bradford and the judge's comments made me so mad that I finally decided to go to the press. I rang Max Clifford because I wanted help — I felt I was throwing myself to the lions."

In her south-west London station, she said her fellow officers organised "gentlemen's smoking evenings", when they went in groups to strip shows. "It's guys like this who are dealing with rape cases and domestic violence cases and you wonder how they can have a proper attitude to stuff like that when they have such a distorted view of women."

Walsh left the force last November, with a certificate describing her conduct as exemplary. "I kept quiet about what went on until now; the [Bradford] case just sparked it off again for me. I'd say to any woman joining the police force that all this equal opportunities stuff means very little.

Last year, 19 women in the Metropolitan police officially complained about either sexual harassment or sex discrimination. The Met won't say how many stuck through with their complaints to tribunal level because "the numbers are so few that the people could be identified". Even though its Equal Opportunities Unit "continuously monitors the service grievance procedure", it refuses to say how many policemen were disciplined last year for harassment.

Tina Martin spent 17 years in the police, working in Derbyshire. She left last September to complete her thesis on sex discrimination in the force. In her thesis, Rocking The Boat, which will be submitted to the Women's Studies Department at Leeds University later this month, she concludes that the police's complaints and industrial tribunal procedures are ineffective, and points out that despite hundreds of complaints no policewoman has successfully taken a case against the force.

"The grievance procedures have been sold as a tool to help women but going through them is so stressful that hundreds of women settle before it gets to court because of the level of harassment they get while pursuing the complaints. So they opt not to rock the boat."

The Police Federation has refused to release details of how many women have pursued cases of sex discrimination or harassment nationally. "We are not making any specific figures available on numbers of cases or a breakdown of the gender involved," it says. However, according to a recent edition of the Police Review, there were at least 50 cases of sexual harassment brought by women police officers in 1995.

The federation did provide this statement: "The Police Federation has committed itself to eliminating harassment and unfairness, publicly, at every opportunity. We are spending £200,000 on training and equal opportunities grievance procedures. In funding legal assistance at industrial tribunals we anticipate a financial commitment of up to £1 million in the next year."

Forces such as the Met also do their best to keep complaints of sexual harassment out of newspapers. When two women serving in central London announced that they were considering going public with their complaints of sexual abuse, they were advised by their solicitor to consider a £3,000 offer to stay silent and go back to work.

LAST September, Janet Blangsted, aged 32, and Karen Duffield, aged 28, chose not to go along with it any more. They left on the day that a number of male officers had been warned to lay off "the two dykes" who were complaining about harassment. The male colleagues got together to plan their response. "We knew what was coming. We knew the hassle would really start and we just couldn't take it. So we went of, initially for two days and then on sick leave," said Blangsted.

Now, still on half pay and losing £1,000 a month, she and Duffield are taking a case of sex discrimination to industrial tribunal. They decided to go public in the belief that there is no internal justice in the force for women complaining about sexual abuse. "We both want to work. I left a job as a legal executive and took a £10,000 drop in salary because I really wanted to be a police officer. I thought it was a decision for life. All my reports during my probation have been excellent.

"But I'd come to my desk and there would be prostitutes' calling cards in my tray. The word dyke was scrawled on my locker. A blow-up doll was left in the women's locker room. Things just kept building up."

The two were also concerned about the attitude of some male colleagues to the public: "On one occasion a woman came in to the station to report a rape and they were filing past the glass panel into the interviewing room and saying things like: 'I wouldn't give her one, would you?'"

"It's not enough any more to say 'Put up or shut up', or 'If you can't stand the heat get out of the kitchen'. What's wrong with some air-conditioning in 1996?" says Tina Martin.

The option for the British police force is to defend a system where women are growing more and more angry and turning to media professionals like Max Clifford to have their cases aired. Girls, it seems, are tired of getting their tits groped and the police force is going to hear a lot more from them and from Max.

Microsoft tightens the Net

Bill O'Neill and Jack Schofield

JUST when a novice thought it safe to buy a computer and check out the hype about the joys of surfing the Internet, Microsoft is poised to spark a revolution in how people use the global network.

The American computing giant is developing software that could effectively turn a home computer into a terminal on the Internet.

When users have logged on, they won't spot the difference between a file they have drawn up to manage their personal finances and another they have located on a computer in, say, the basement of Nasa's headquarters in Washington.

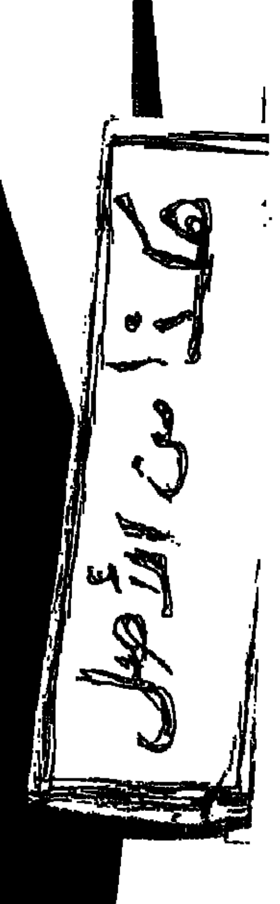
The style will be the same, with only the content differing. Highlighted text will provide links to what a user spent last year touring Africa, or give them the latest information on what caused the recent Ariane 5 accident. A "file" will now be called a "page", and it may well contain audio recordings and video clips of the holiday, as well as e-mail addresses of travel agents, hotels, cafés and bars — all the features now commonplace on the WorldWide Web, the friendly face of the Internet.

Microsoft has been gathering steam ever since it decided earlier this year that the Internet was here to stay. This latest development, a clever piece of software that brings the benefits of the Net into the home, is perhaps the most remarkable.

"What we're doing is integrating the best of the PC with the best of the Web," Martin Gregory, Microsoft UK's Internet software manager, says. "So you'll be able to do things like click forward and back buttons to move between programs on your PC in the same way that you move between Web sites." While the software tightens Microsoft's squeeze on the Internet, the good news is that it does not make existing hardware redundant.

However, users do have to commit themselves to Microsoft, and its range of products. The latest software is due to be part and parcel of the replacement for Windows 95, the Microsoft operating system launched last year and designed to make computing with a PC as easy as it is on an Apple Mac. The new operating system, which Microsoft has dubbed "Nashville", is not due to be released until next year. But the software is already being swapped across the Internet by enthusiasts.

Until Nashville is released, Microsoft will incorporate this latest development in the fourth version of its Internet Explorer browser, software designed for surfing the net. Its recent launch was followed by the appearance of version 3.0 of Netscape Navigator from Netscape Communications. So far, Netscape has dominated the browser market, and independent analysts credit the company with a market share of more than 80 per cent. Now it faces a real challenge.



Leaving the stone age by degrees

Christopher Zinn accompanies a Brisbane scholarship boy to his village home in Papua New Guinea and finds that tribal loyalties still exert a strong influence



Papuans in traditional garb . . . occasional warfare between tribes is settled by compensation paid in pigs and Kina shells PHOTOGRAPH: STEVEN SIEWERT

PETER PUNDIA had a good excuse for being late back to his Queensland boarding school. He was caught up in a tribal war, hit by two arrows, cut with a bushknife, and shot in the ribs with a home-made gun. He was only saved by the intervention of two cousins with a traditional shield.

"I really like fighting, a tribal fight is very enjoyable but once you get shot, forget it," said Peter, who was born soon after Papua New Guinea gained independence in 1975.

Like his remarkable diverse country, in which 4 million people speak 700 different languages, Peter is experiencing a learning curve as daunting as any drawn tribal bow.

Three years ago he was plucked from his remote village near Nipa in the Southern Highlands by a scholarship from AusAid, the Australian foreign aid agency, and sent off to school in Brisbane. In November he returns permanently to his country, which is struggling to find its place as a largely pre-industrial subsistence society in a digital post-industrial world.

Like most young Papuans lucky enough to get an education, he speaks three languages: his local dialect, English, and Pidgin, in which the Queen is "Misis Kwin" and Prince Charles her "nambawan pikinini".

But in anyone's language PNG, although rich in resources and strategically placed between the booming tiger economies of south-east Asia and the less energetically paced South Pacific island states, is in crisis.

Because of mismanagement and corruption the economy is in deep trouble. It is still highly dependent on aid, especially from its old colonial master Australia, and is subject to a $170 million World Bank rescue package with painful strings attached.

The country is also hurting from the bloody successionist crisis on the island of Bougainville, which has badly damaged the economy and dented the notion of national unity. The dirty little war has cost 10,000 lives and closed down the Panguna copper mine, once responsible for almost half the country's export earnings.

In some areas, including the run-down capital Port Moresby, there has been a breakdown in law and order, led by the growth of the so-called "rascal" gangs who murder, rape and pillage almost at will.

To explore these national growing pains the Guardian joined Peter Pundia on his long and arduous journey from Brisbane to Nipa for the school winter holidays. We wanted to see at first-hand how he and other Papuans live between two such different competing worlds, and which one most will eventually opt for.

The Highlands are the sort of place where it is not unusual to see a tribesman wearing a traditional skirt of sago leaves around his buttocks and a tatty second-hand Pierre Cardin jacket on his shoulders.

From the airport in the unruly highland centre, Mount Hagen, we spent two days in buses reaching the foot of the mountain on top of which Peter's village stands.

Shortly after we left it to begin the three-hour climb, the vehicle in which we had arrived was held up by a rascal gang. Its police escort shot two of the robbers dead.

In the Highlands, which only made contact with Europeans in the 1930s, such violence is not uncommon. The few tourists who make it up here are often advised to fly even small distances to avoid the danger of robbers on the roads.

Tribal unrest can also flare up and claim a few lives before the feuds are settled with the appropriate payment of compensation, usually in the form of pigs and Kina shells.

"Fellows like me, who are getting a school education, are the enemies' first target. We'll be the first killed," said Peter, who intends to study engineering at university in Port Moresby. Even there he may have to keep his wits about him. The police estimate that there may be as many as 300 rascal gangs in the capital. An expatriate businessman who shot four rascals dead in self-defence as they attempted to rob a restaurant last year had to leave the country for fear of a "pay-back" killing by their families.

Belgian criminologist Annou Borrey has spent five years studying the rascals. "When you consider that for countless generations violence was praised and the men's primary role was warrior," she said, "then rascals are only fulfilling that traditional role of protection and plundering from other warring clans."

Such customary sentiments are also said to be partly responsible for the unrest that led to the Bougainville crisis. The islanders are culturally and geographically part of the neighbouring Solomon Islands, but politically bound to what they see as a distant and unsympathetic mainland.

In 1989, a dispute blew up between traditional landowners and the Australian mining company CRA over royalty payments and environmental damage at the Panguna mine. It exacerbated separatist feeling with the result that a guerrilla war erupted.

In July the PNG defence forces wound down their most recent offensive against the Bougainville Revolutionary Army, which defends its island stronghold with reconditioned second world war Japanese cannons. And at last there is talk of a real peace.

The BRA said it might drop its demand for full independence and the PNG government said it might give the island greater autonomy.

The prime minister, Sir Julius Chan, who faces a general election next year, said he would look "constructively and positively" at such proposals. The BRA's international representative, Moses Havini, said they were being taken very seriously.

"Our people want self-determination and they want independence, but those words are subject to a lot of interpretation. We want a satisfactory political solution acceptable to all parties," he said.

But the dispute leaves a bitter legacy. There have been claims of atrocities on both sides. Amnesty International recently reported that PNG troops had been responsible for "very serious" human rights abuses, which included extrajudicial killings, beatings and illegal detention.

The government's casualty list suggests that 7,640 civilians, 2,000 members of pro-PNG militias and 400 troops from both sides have died so far. Up to 50,000 people are living in government-run "care centres" on the island, where food and medicines are chronically scarce.

The conflict has not done much for PNG's international relations either. It has exchanged accusations of warlike acts with the Solomon Islands after alleged armed incursions across the international boundary.

HOWEVER, it is its relations with Australia, which gives PNG more than $232 million in aid each year, that have really been strained. Australian-supplied Iroquois military helicopters have been used in combat on Bougainville, in clear breach of an agreement limiting their use to transport and medical evacuations.

Recently one of the converted gunships killed six BRA rebels trying to escape in a small boat.

The Australian foreign minister, Alexander Downer, warned that such actions could put the two nations' defence co-operation programme at risk, but he was delighted that the PNG government was taking a more constructive approach to the Bougainville crisis.

The rebellion is a remote issue to many in Peter's village, whose knowledge of the outside world is limited. They rarely see a newspaper and until our visit never had Europeans to stay. But they understand that Peter will go out into the world, get a good job, and under the all-pervasive "wantok" system of social obligations make generous financial provision for them when asked.

Its critics say that the pressures of wantok — one-talk, meaning family — can destroy the personal initiative and incentives which PNG needs to develop local enterprises and a capital base. But others argue that it provides a safety net in a country with no social security system. Last year, for example, there were just 72 registered mental patients receiving public care. The rest were presumably with their wantoks.

"If Peter does well the people here will be very happy," said his uncle Eric. "They will regard him as a big man."

For his part, Peter said his overseas education would not spoil him. While he intends to spend some time in the city, his first loyalties, like most Papuans, will be to his clan.

"I have changed, but I can be in both Western culture and my own culture," he said. "However, I think I'll be more like my tribesmen. I like my tribe."

A mission to undo missionary zeal

IT WAS almost too much to expect to find a genuine Irish priest in the verdant equatorial province of New Ireland, *writes Christopher Zinn*, but there he was holding a mass for some daring shark hunters.

Under the tin roof of St Mary's church in Karu, Father John Glynn, in an immaculate cassock and flip-flops, blessed the brave men who would take to the high seas in small outrigger canoes at dawn on the morrow to catch the killers by hand.

The Festival of the Sea is just one way in which Fr Glynn, who has been in New Ireland for 33 years, tries to revive some of the old traditions banished by the zeal of the original missionaries.

He has organised a three-day get-together for local villages to practice the ancient ritual of shark calling.

They use a coconut-shell rattle to lure the sharks up from the depths and then dangerously fix a noose around their gills, to which is attached a large wooden propeller. If all goes well — and one fisherman almost lost his arm that morning — the shark takes off across the water with the propeller, is exhausted by the drag, and drowns.

No sharks were caught that morning. But the people used the occasion to dress up in feathers, leaves and traditional clothes and have a "singsing" with energetic dancing. Pigs, sweet potatoes and bananas were wrapped in leaves and cooked underground with hot rocks for a mumu feast.

For 10,000 years, Fr Glynn says, the people had complete control of their land. Now, because of the value of resources such as timber and a massive gold mine on nearby Lihir island, they are effectively paid off and pushed aside.

The loggers have been through the area twice, paying a pittance in royalties which put nothing back into the community, he says. So he has overseen a small guesthouse development to introduce the notion of bed and breakfast. There are plans for a butterfly farm and eco-tourism.

"It's all very small scale, but it's a way of keeping the people in control of their own land and heritage," Fr Glynn says.

Letter from China Stephen Seawright

Rough justice

A FRIEND called round to my flat early one Monday morning. Excitedly, he told me the police were going to parade some criminals outside the local cinema and he invited me to go and watch. Although the rally was due to start shortly we had to go slowly due to the poor brakes on my old Chinese bike.

As we approached the cinema we found many people lining both sides of the road. We left the bicycles a little further up the street and walked the remaining hundred metres to the cinema. There were lots of policemen standing around chatting and smoking cigarettes, who looked at us a little inquisitively as we walked past. A foreigner does not have to do very much to attract people's attention in Binzhou and the police were probably surprised, even a little apprehensive, about a foreigner watching the proceedings.

The six prisoners, five men and one woman, were in a forlorn state. Their hands were manacled behind them and a long, narrow white board was tied to their backs, that reached about one a half metres over their heads, which in bold Chinese characters labelled them as criminals. Behind the prisoners stood a line of armed policemen. On the near side of the forecourt, there were about 15 police motorbikes, six mini-vans and three large trucks with open carriers.

A court official explained the crimes that each of the prisoners had committed. Most of them had been found guilty of robbery, though the woman had murdered her step-son. All six were to be executed. The spectators listened and quietly discussed the proceedings, but were largely unmoved. People were there largely out of morbid curiosity.

When the court official had finished speaking, the prisoners were taken down from the steps to the waiting transport for their last journey. The woman and one of the men were put on separate trucks by two groups of policemen. The woman had a stern expression on her face but she did not appear to be frightened. The man looked scared as he contemplated his imminent death. These two trucks were driven slowly out of the forecourt and on to the street, where the crowds had swollen since I had arrived. These two prisoners were being taken only a short distance to be shot near Binzhou.

The remaining prisoners had their white boards removed before being placed in a mini-van. With one policeman on either side, the prisoners were uncomfortable in their seats, as they had to sit on the edge as their hands were still manacled behind their backs.

These prisoners left in a large motorcade consisting of mini-vans, motorbikes and the third open-carrier truck which was full of policemen, many of them carrying machine-guns. Once the motorcade had departed the remaining soldiers walked away and the crowd dispersed, with everyone returning to their daily business. Within a few minutes it was as if nothing had happened. It was hard to believe that within a few hours, at the most, the people we had been watching would be dead.

I waited with my friend for a few minutes because he was concerned that the police we had walked past earlier might want to question him as to why he had brought a foreigner to watch the proceedings. When we were sure they had gone too, we returned to our bicycles.

THESE EVENTS are staged to deter others from committing crimes. There have been many such events in China in recent weeks since the central government announced a nationwide crackdown on crime. Eager to show that they are helping the nationwide campaign, local police forces have been publicly displaying the fruits of their work.

The criminals I saw in Binzhou were unlucky that they were caught during this period. Most of those found guilty of robbery may have received a prison sentence rather than the death penalty if they had been arrested at another time. Given the vast amount of corruption in China today, they probably would have avoided arrest if they had had powerful *guanxi* (contacts) in the local police or government, or a lot of money to offer in bribes. Chinese laws are enforced in only a very random and selective way.



Net surfers united . . . Adrian Philpott and Cindy Irish kiss for the cameras PHOTOGRAPH: DEREK IRONSIDE

A marriage made by God and the Net

Erlend Clouston

AN *ACER* Pentium married a Packard Bell Pentium last week in a ceremony that will have gladdened the hearts of techno-nerds everywhere. Three months after their first trans-atlantic date on the Internet and a mere three days after their first fleshly encounter, Adrian Philpott and Cindy Irish promised each other lifelong back-up in Aberdeen university's medieval chapel.

Cindy, a 46-year-old widow from Connecticut in the United States, arrived just four minutes late for the official climax to a courtship which began on May 20 when she interrupted 42-year-old Adrian's on-screen discussion of the film Braveheart.

Electronic empathy was cemented by shared Christian convictions. Adrian's successful proposal popped over Cindy's modem four weeks later.

Allusions to the relationship's unorthodox background were studiously avoided during the 30-minute service which Adrian, a divorced computer sales adviser, threw open to a media pack anxious to witness the possible first stages of a social revolution.

Apart from the theoretical prospect of a boom in Internet-induced babies, the Philpott-Irish union was proof to isolated urbanites that Net-surfing can yield more than glazed eyes and an unhealthy pallor.

"We didn't start out looking for a partner, but it just happened that way," said Adrian, a moustachioed RAF electrician. "On reflection, though, it's not a bad way to meet."

The pair came physically face to face for the first time at Heathrow airport, when Cindy, a traffic co-ordinator, flew in with her sons Tim, aged 14, and Bill, 23. Her two daughters remained in East Hertford, Connecticut, to welcome home their mother and her new husband after a brief Highlands honeymoon.

"Our marriage was arranged by the Lord and there is no better matchmaker," Adrian said.

His confidence that Cindy was a good cook was based on Bill and Tim's appearance. "They look healthy enough," he said.

Whatever lies ahead, living together will cut down on computing bills. "I spent enough to fly to the States three or four times," said the cyber-groom.



A Country Diary

Ray Collier

ROSEMARKIE: It looked incongruous striding along a sun-soaked beach near Inverness where people were sunbathing as I had wellingtons on and was carrying a long-handled pond net. Not so my two young grandchildren, as they were in their element running through the shallow water as we headed for the rocks. There are few rock pools on this part of the east coast of the Highlands but this stretch is ideal as some of them are deep.

The main purpose of the visit was to collect some winkles for me to eat, and the pond net was to introduce the children to the rich wildlife of the pools. When I was their age I was brought up on elvers (baby eels), tripe and chitterlings. When I kept several aquariums my favourite was the one for rock pool fish, anemones and crabs, and it was at Rosemarkie that I collected the various specimens. Once a good bag of winkles had been collected I started pond dipping, trying to remember the technique I had used in the past when looking for sticklebacks and newts. For a while I caught nothing but the inevitable winkles but then the first small crab appeared and went into the jar for a while; then the first fish, one of my favourites in the aquarium as it was a 15-spined stickleback.

A larger crab came next and then two blennies from a deep pool near the crashing waves and then a goby to complete the catch for the morning. The catch was carefully released into a large pool where there were dozens of red anemones, many with their tentacles out. The following day I had the winkles for lunch with garlic butter and they were delicious, reminding me of the days when elvers were so cheap that some people gave them away.

Notes & Queries Joseph Harker

BRIEFLY, what is the plot of the film 2001: A Space Odyssey?

BOY meets monolith; boy loses computer; monolith gets boy. — *Roger Wilmot, Surbiton, Surrey*

THE plot revolves around two encounters in which a mysterious, advanced and apparently benevolent alien intelligence intervenes to give humanity a friendly nudge forward along its evolutionary pathway.

The first encounter occurs two or three million years ago in Africa when the alien intelligence, represented by a black monolith, visits a group of hominids and stimulates them to tool-making.

The second occurs in our own time. Humans are by now established on the moon, where they uncover another monolith, apparently left there after the alien's first visit. The presumption is that, if humans are advanced enough to reach the moon, they are ready to take their next evolutionary step forward. The monolith transmits a signal towards Jupiter. A mission to Jupiter is therefore organised, crewed by two astronauts with several others in hibernation.

En route the ship's computer goes barmy and kills one of the astronauts and all of the hibernators. But the surviving astronaut makes it to Jupiter, enters a Star Gate to the realm of the alien intelligence, dies, and is reborn as a Star Child — the next step in human evolution. — *Martin Spence, Peckham, London*

TO UNDERSTAND what really happens, read the book (written when the movie was made), the short story from which it comes, the book about the movie/book and then watch the movie. — *Nic Dent, Ealing, London*

WHEN food is served piping hot, who's piping — or where's the pipe?

PAUL ADDERLEY'S contention that the expression is relating to piping in the haggis (Notes & Queries, August 4) is quite wrong. "Piping" is derived from Old English "pipe" and Latin "pipare", meaning to hiss or cheep — noises associated with food which has just been removed from a hot oven. — *Hugh Macartney, Victoria, British Columbia*

WHY are ants unaffected by being in a powered microwave oven?

THE waves in the microwave oven have a wavelength of some 10cm and they pass mostly around the small ant without being absorbed, much as a sea wave will flow around a stake. What little heat is absorbed is moreover easily lost over the relatively large surface of the animal. Insects in a microwave are thus well advised to disperse. — *Peter Das, Capelle aan den Ijssel, Netherlands*

Any answers?

I HAVE heard that, at some time in the past, people in China paid their doctor regularly while they remained well. When they became sick, payment was suspended on the basis that the doctor had failed to keep them healthy. Is this story true? Could it be adapted to the NHS? — *Dr Nigel Curtis, London*

I WOULD like to go on Mastermind but I don't have a specialist subject. Which topic of research would give people the impression that I've spent years in a library, whilst consuming the smallest time to master? — *William Barrett, London*

Answers should be e-mailed to weekly@guardian.co.uk, faxed to 0171/44171-242-0985, or posted to The Guardian Weekly, 75 Farringdon Road, London EC1M 3HQ. Readers with access to the Internet can browse through and respond to Notes & Queries via the new site at http://go2.guardian.co.uk/nq/

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
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Global conflict on the Thames

Shakespeare's theatre, as rebuilt in London, had its first performance last week. The battle is just about to begin, says **Claire Armitstead**

IT ALL began with an American dream. Sam Wanamaker, the actor and director, came to England looking for Shakespeare. Where the Globe Theatre had once stood, he found a parking lot marked "sold for redevelopment". Stratford-upon-Avon did its bit to keep the flag of Shakespearean performance flying — Sam had played Iago there in 1959 — but nobody had thought to recreate the wooden O so central to Shakespearean history. Suddenly Sam was a man with a mission — to rebuild the Globe. And not just any old wooden O — that had been proposed before, in the 1930s, during a vogue for half-timbering — but the great Globe itself, as true in every peg and joist as it was possible to be to eye-witness impressions and rough contemporary sketches.

It was a Herculean labour, which turned Sam himself into a bit of a hero. Not only did he have to raise the money to build his replica Globe in the armpit of the Thames that is present-day Southwark, but he had to convince a phalanx of academics and a regiment of theatre professionals that it was not simply an exercise in heritage kitsch. It took a life-sapping 25 years, and shortly after the building work began, he died.

That was three years ago, and since then a huge edifice has reared up in Southwark. London is not a


Sam Wanamaker: the visionary behind the Globe project

city of surprises — its history is well-tended and predictable. And Southwark is a particularly odd borough — queasily stretched between the regeneration chic of riverside shopping malls and the ersatz historicism of the London Dungeons. Where there were bear pits and brothels, now there are railway arches and newspaper offices. Nothing prepares you for the shock — after a taxi ride over Southwark Bridge, round a half-hearted one-way system on to bumpy side streets — of arriving at a sheer brick wall among puddles of people in cagoules, bearing clipboards.

Walk in through a foyer carpeted in the same hard-wearing beige as dozens of civic centres and, suddenly, there it is. The wooden O. The great stage, flanked by its two huge pillars, is still a working model in grey plywood. But the main beams are of a monumental oak that already seems to be splitting and silvering with age and symbolic importance. This is a building that groans with a heroic enterprise, quite distinct from whatever Othellos or Lears may one day tread its boards. It compels you to think in terms of dynasties, tradition, heirs. It is, of course, entirely artificial. The original was a fire-trap and, as Christopher Ricks pointed out recently, a breeding-ground for the plague that terrorised Elizabethan England. The new Globe's thatch is topped off by a little row of fire sprinklers.

So why is this architectural fantasy so moving? It occupies a unique position in English culture, because of the unique status accorded to its dedicatee. William Shakespeare is a secular patron saint: he comforts the English-speaking world with a sense of its solidarity and its superiority.

It is as if the Globe stands on a cultural ley line. Both physically and metaphorically, it is the place where three powerful factions confront each other. There are the academics, who have bled the plays dry of their clues about the original staging but have no way of replicating the actual experience. "They fight a very vicious feudal war on the theoretical level, and that ethic is very difficult when you start to move into building things," says the Globe's artistic director, Mark Rylance. "A couple of them who are closely involved have had to put their theories into millions of pounds of timber."

Then there are the theatre practitioners — actors, directors and technicians — whose obsession, equally intense, casts the challenge of re-creation in a rather different form. They don't know how Shakespeare coped with this open-air barn, but they are sure he must have coped — because they are convinced he is a genius.

Finally, there is the heritage industry, with its hunger for the picturesque, the sellable-in-many-languages, the play-of-the-film-of-the-T-shirt. The heritage industry is responsible for transforming Stratford into a theme park, yet it is only pursuing its own, partial view of history — a view with purse strings attached.

To see how entrenched the factions are, you need only look to last year's four-week workshop season, when actors, directors and academics were invited to try the theatre out and ended up fighting over such vital details as where on the stage those two pillars should stand. Peter Hall fretted that the mock-up was "frightfully wrong", while scholar Andrew Gurr thundered: "Peter Hall is operating on gut instinct and challenging the consensus of 120 international theatre scholars." In the end, the practitioners won and the pillars were moved. But ask an actor why, and you begin to understand the scholars' frustration. "It seems much warmer," says Rylance. "The old design created a sort of D. It seemed important to have a square in a circle, which is what Shakespeare talked about."

Rylance, aged 36, a brilliant actor, is an odd figurehead for an institution that — in time — should be among London's premier tourist attractions. Where you would expect a smart-talking huckster, alert to any marketing opportunity, you find a man who does not want to be a hero — so determined that the Globe be seen as a collective that he refuses to be interviewed by himself, although finding a time to interview three actors is three times as difficult as pinning one down.

Rylance is perhaps the clearest embodiment of the theatre establishment's urge to understand its patron saint. There is something unworldly in his talk of the "mystery" of Shakespeare. There is even a certain recklessness in his choices. He is opening the Globe with the early comedy Two Gentlemen Of Verona. True to form, he leads from the middle as Proteus, one of the two gentlemen, in a production directed by a fellow actor, Jack Shepherd. "I wanted someone who put the needs of the players first, not some great conceptual director," he explains.

Of course, his vision of the "true" Shakespeare is as riddled with supposition as all the others. He won't buy in household names to appeal to the charabanc trade — "if by big names you mean people from film or TV". Why not? "Because it's like the difference between being good at hockey and ice hockey. I went to see Al Pacino doing American Buffalo and he didn't have a chance, because everyone clapped when he came on. I want a proper ensemble. Not people who come in for a few performances."

But wasn't Edmund Kean as big a star as Pacino in his time? Aye, there's the rub. Rylance admits that Kean would probably have waited in for three or four command appearances, like a big opera star today. The modern Globe actor will be expected to work a taxing nine-show week, without even the sanctuary of a private dressing room: no hierarchy, so no star dressing rooms. How much of this jolly communality is Shakespeare — a canny impresario as well as a theatre craftsman — and how much is Rylance, a fey visionary who has not yet been confronted with the demands of maintaining an institution like the Globe?

His first few months have certainly brought him face-to-boot with the bruising realities of being custodian to a legend. Suddenly, the critics' darling seems to have become public enemy number one. Last summer, he both directed and starred in a production of Macbeth that had men reaching for dictionaries of abuse. The production had an idea about popular religious cults that seemed to have more to do with a slightly unfocused curiosity than with dictatorial zeal.

WHEN it opened, it was seen as proof that Rylance was unfit to guard Shakespeare's reputation: "The Globe is already in trouble. If Rylance offers work like this, we can look forward to a fiasco of monumental proportions," snapped the Daily Telegraph, while the Times critic made a pledge to eat the First Folio complete if the next decade produced a more ill-conceived version. …

"I was trying to do something very difficult," admits Rylance, "which was to direct a play at the same time as starring in it. The risk is that you don't allow yourself enough time to work on your own performance. But we don't do things carelessly."

The hostility surfaced again last month when Rylance decided to abandon a Shakespeare prize set up in the Globe's name by Wanamaker. The judges, who suddenly found themselves without a judging panel, were outraged. Several were critics and they committed their outrage to print.

"I was naive," he admits. "I didn't realise people felt so strongly. To me, it felt divisive that we honoured individuals, but gave no recognition to the people who make outstanding costumes or formed the ensembles. The men who have played Benedick have always won prizes — but what about the women who play Hero?"

Just by accepting the Globe mantle, he has entered the political arena where — as any Shakespearean king could tell him — pure ethics will always have to be tempered by statesmanship. But what, in Globe terms, is statesmanship? Is it, as Rylance would have it, leading a quasi-mystical quest for the true spirit of the bard? Or is it — more brutally — having the nous to keep peace between the clans laying claim to the Shakespearean heritage?

Rylance's unworldliness may yet turn out to be his trump card. He has called this first season the Prologue, in acknowledgment that everything may yet change. Only when it is over to everyone's satisfaction will the great stage be built in solid oak. And what if it is still not right? Rylance's face splits into a boyish grin. "If it turns out that it's the wrong way round, then we'll raise the money to turn it round." Now that really is Shakespearean: it's Feste's wit crossed with Hotspur's heroism and the pure mischief of Puck.



BAWDY* yells and rowdy laughter greeted the first performance at the new Globe Theatre as the Two Gentlemen Of Verona opened last week beneath a balmy sky, *writes Ruaridh Nicoll.

Although the first play to be staged has been classed as second-rate Shakespeare, the 12 actors involved seemed to put their hearts into it. That is 12 plus the dog, Crab, who whuffled his parts at the audience — sniffing at the 500 people who jostled as "groundlings" — those patrons who paid £5 each to mill in the space around the stage.

The other 900 who filled Shakespeare's "wooden O" were set on three tiers looking at the temporary stage.

"It was excellent," said Trevor Fromant, there with his wife Carolyn from Bradley, in Hertfordshire. "When the dog came on it really broke the ice with the audience."

The dog, it seemed, was the star of the show for many of the merry departing audience. "The lurcher was a genius," said Sue Squires from Canterbury.

There was no repeat of the dress rehearsal disaster when George Innes let go of a rope while abseiling from the balcony, landed badly and broke a leg in two places.

To make up for the loss, Mel Cobb, a "resting" actor who had been plastering the unfinished building, was drafted in.

Despite the changes even the groundlings loved the raucous atmosphere in the "O". When an actor said something bitchy there were shouts of "meow"; indecisiveness over love drew cries of "go on my son".

"The audience were getting really involved and it made me think about Shakespeare saying 'all the world's a stage'," said Anna Pope, who was over on a choral tour from Adelaide and had been a groundling.

The audience were not only treated to a story about love and competitiveness, but many also partook of cinnamon and ham pies from vendors by the stage.

There were a few complaints about the acoustics, as aircraft flew overhead towards Heathrow, but rebuilding a theatre which had been dead for more than 350 years seemed a very good idea to most of the first-night audience.

PHOTOGRAPH: KEVIN COOMBS

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
September 1 1996

Marriages made in hell

TELEVISION
Nancy Banks-Smith

NIGEL and Marie's wedding cost £10,000 what with the bridesmaids, limousines and a Golden Moments video so the memory would be as permanent as the marriage. Marie was 21, a slightly overweight but endearing bride in a dress which could only be described as A Big Mistake. Nigel was older, balding and feeling slightly pressured in marrying. Does any of this sound familiar?

At the reception ("A sit-down for 60") the best man filmed him saying: "There is more to come later so I hope you enjoy yourselves as much as I intend to."

After which strikingly well-chosen words, he and Debbie, the best man's wife, sneaked off and went to bed together.

Nigel articulated the philosophy of every culprit in **Betrayal** (BBC1): "In life if you want something you've got to go out and get it, and if you hurt others in the proceeds, then that's tough, that's life."

Debbie said: "If you want something bad enough you go out there and you get it." They seem well suited.

The marriage lasted eight weeks. Nigel gave Marie 24 hours to get out of his house and she did. "One in, one out," said Debbie.

Caroline and Rob had been together eight years with two children when she bought him a lottery ticket. It was, she agreed, his ticket.

He took the £1.4 million and ran.

Rob has bought a house ("It's detached and I can play the music as loud as I want") and lives there with a sharp-faced girl called Julie, who left her husband for Rob a week after he told her about the money. You would be looking at Rob for some time before you were reminded of a tack. Caroline still lives in her council flat.

Rob gives her £69 a week and, she adds punctiliously, "I did get a television, video, a microwave, a kettle and he treated me to take my friends out to a night club."

"I don't think she's entitled to anything," said Julie. "She's just the mother of his kids. Rob has treated Caroline more than fair. If it had been me, I wouldn't have give her half as much as what he has. He's got me now and I'm not really in her class. I've had a better upbringing whereas she comes from a council house background and she's a bit rough, you know. I think I've got more values than her."

Caroline is calm and uncomplaining. "My family and friends think I should have kept the ticket for myself but we was together for nearly eight years and, me being the Mum of his children, you can't just do summat like that."

The betrayed were pitifully ill-used people to whom the words "Good lawyer . . . till the pips squeak . . . inch of his life . . . sorry he was born" seem unknown.

The astonishing thing is that anyone should want to talk about such things on TV. Like the Prince and Princess of Wales.

Nicky has been missing from **Coronation Street** (Granada) for three weeks. His absence has given his mother Gail — the one with all the hair and no chin — a chance to go for the deep organ notes. After years of serving barmcakes to Percy Sugden, here at last is a storyline with some jam on it.

"Let me see my son! Let me see him!" she cried. One was pleased for the girl.

As Diana Dors said when playing Jocasta in Oedipus Rex (oh yes, she did): "There were some pretty serious emotional scenes, especially when I am on my knees crying and begging him not to be too upset and he is crying and tearing his hair out in handfuls." That was a mother and son drama too though, of course, a bit different.

My own feeling is that you can't have too few children in soaps. They are invariably a pest and you end up visiting them in prison like Steve "Dodgy" McDonald and Terry "E's a bad 'un" Duckworth. I look with renewed fondness on Derek and Mavis, who have one well-behaved budgie.

Steiner fails Traverse test

EDINBURGH FESTIVAL
Michael Billington

GEORGE STEINER set the agenda for the opening Edinburgh week. Not so much because of his widely reported suggestion that the festival should self-destruct: more because of his disturbing observation that artistic excellence has less and less connection with decency and progress. As he bluntly said: "Great musical performances, art exhibitions, drama festivals, architecture have not only co-existed with political madness, they have adorned and celebrated it."

Steiner's point was uncannily echoed in the most important and moving event I saw all week: a performance of Wallace Shawn's **The Fever** by a compelling Canadian actress, Clare Coulter, which dominated an exceptionally strong programme at the Traverse Theatre. Shawn wrote his 90-minute monologue in 1990 and initially performed it in people's apartments before it became a public event.

In essence, it is the testament of a guilt-ridden liberal who, in the course of a visit to a Third World country, is forced to question all the assumptions of his existence: that a belief in beauty, art, personal decency, private fulfilment and political gradualism will somehow make the world a better place. It is the perfect play for a festival based on the humanist premise that, by confronting great art, we are morally and spiritually enriched.

Shawn's point is similar to that made in Pinter's recent political plays: that our celebration of life co-exists with atrocities carried out in the name of democracy and that our Western comfort depends on the existence of global poverty. And Clare Coulter, who sits there in a plain black dress, seems to be speaking directly to each of us. That the words come from the heart was confirmed by a tiny moment: when a member of the audience was overcome by a coughing fit, the actress lent across and offered her a glass of water. The gesture both destroyed the artificial boundary between art and life and demonstrated the paradox at the heart of Shawn's masterpiece: that liberal decency may be insufficient in a barbarous universe but is also not yet extinct.

Shawn's play rattles our conscience because it asks whether our comforts are based on other people's miseries. The same question lies at the heart of another play that adorns the Traverse programme: **The Architect**, by the young Scottish writer David Greig. The hero is an Edinburgh architect who has achieved status and comfort by building sixties tower-blocks that are now falling apart. He is asked, by a petitioning tenant, to assist in their demolition at the same time as his personal life is in ruins: his wife abandons him while his son and daughter turn into hapless fugitives.

Greig's play is much more than a fogeyish attack on modern architecture. It is a study in the way private dreams turn into public nightmares. The architect claims that his original concept of terraced towers was loosely based on Stonehenge: a tenant who lives in his decaying monstrosities tells him, "You weren't asked to design houses, you were asked to house people."

Greig's play is a touch schematic in the way it shows the master-builder's family disintegrating like his civic architecture. But the production by Philip Howard, who succeeds Ian Brown as director of the Traverse in October, kept me engrossed, and a good performance by Alexander Morton as the guilty hero is accompanied by outstanding ones from Tom Smith as his screwed-up son and from John Stahl as a decent truckdriver who befriends his runaway daughter.

Big issues permeate all the Traverse plays. Chris Hannan's erratically exuberant new comedy, **Shining Souls**, surveys the spiritual chaos of modern life. Set in Glasgow over the course of one day, it starts with a single mum trying to choose between two potential husbands both called Billy and goes on to examine the goods on offer in the spiritual supermarket: everything from astrology and soapbox prophecy to a dessicated Christianity.

Hannan loses control of his material in the second half, but Ian Brown's farewell production is sprightly and the company is dashingly led by Alison Peebles as the dithering bride.

I was enchanted by Theatre Cryptic's **Parallel Lines** which offers a sexy, voluptuous, musicalised version of Molly Bloom's great affirmative soliloquy from Ulysses. I was less taken with Communicado's version of Michel Vinaver's **Portrait of a Woman** which, while offering multiple perspectives on a French murderess, belies the promise of the title. But total immersion in the Traverse programme suggests that Ian Brown leaves this most crucial of Scottish theatres in rude, investigative health. It also left me doubting Steiner's assumption that art often anaesthetises us against reality. By asking the right questions, it can also force us to confront the moral flaws of our own natures and of the wider world.


Clare Coulter in Wallace Shawn's The Fever PHOTOGRAPH: BOB CAIN

Ghetto gangstas shafted

CINEMA
Derek Malcolm

IT MAY seem odd that the white American director Larry Cohen was put in charge of **Original Gangstas**. Admittedly, the film is a kind of reprise of The Magnificent Seven. But it was produced by Fred Williamson, whom he has directed before in Black Caesar, and is obviously intended as a return to the blaxploitation movies of the seventies. A black American director might have expanded on the themes that make this urban western an intriguing prospect, but Cohen at least knows the scene well.

The seven this time are, in fact, five — Williamson, Paul Winfield, Jim Brown, Richard Roundtree and Ron O'Neal, who were scions of films like Shaft and Superfly. The setting is Gary, Indiana, a former steel town and now the rundown murder capital of America.

Running the ghetto are the Rebels, a violent, drug-dealing young gang. A black youth is murdered after a basketball betting coup and the owner of the local cornershop is wounded. Williamson, now a famous football coach living in LA, returns home to do something about it. So far, so ordinary. But Williamson and the four former friends he enlists to help him were founder members of the Rebels in a different age and, when he demands police protection for the neighbourhood, he gets a flea in his ear from the mayor — "You're pissed off because you've become a victim of something you started".

The feeling that the veterans have either abandoned their home turf or remained there content to survive after creating an atmosphere of fear is balanced by the idea that the present Rebels are worse, since they don't even want to improve themselves, let alone their community.

The five are thus much more vulnerable than they were before — veterans trying to defeat the new wave because they feel guilty. It's nice to see them again, since most of them have become better actors. It's good also to see an action movie that tries to say something fresh.

Much of Original Gangstas is fairly crude. But Cohen, clearly without much of a budget, paints a painful picture of a society struggling against chaos and law enforcement that confines itself to keeping the lid on everything without trying to cure it.

Mira Nair, whose Salaam Bombay, about the street kids of Bombay, proved Indian cinema's most potent international success of the eighties, hasn't had much luck since. **The Perez Family** isn't likely to change things much.

Based on Christie Bell's novel about Cuban immigrants in Miami at the time of the Mariel boatlift in 1980, it's a tragi-comic tale of tangled lives in strange surroundings that can't get its tone right despite an able and lively cast. There's Alfred Molina as a former prisoner who, on the boat to the promised land of America where his wife (Anjelica Huston) and daughter (Trini Alvarado) await him, meets Marisa Tomei's prostitute.

Because they have the same name, Perez, the US authorities think they are man and wife. It's the only way the girl can stay in America, and she persuades her new friend to go along with the deception.

WHAT follows is clearly intended to be a sympathetic yet lively and amusing look at subject matter others might have treated with more political tub-thumping. But there's less sting in the drama than there should be and the soft-focus approach is, in the end, fatally weakening.

Since the release of Stacy Title's **The Last Supper**, several of the mostly young cast have made reputations, including Cameron Diaz, Annabeth Gish and Ron Eldard.

Diaz, Gish, Eldard, Jonathan Penner and Courtney B Vance play five liberal Iowa graduate students who are idealistic enough to attempt to change the world. Their plan is original: to invite various reactionaries to dinner, including a ghastly talk-show semi-fascist, and either to change or poison them. It all goes wrong, since the reactionaries are not quite what they expect and they are not quite as sure of themselves as they thought.

The basic thrust is clearly that the road to hell is paved with good intentions, but neither Dan Rosen's screenplay, nor the younger members of the cast are quite up to it. The result is a bit of a mess, briefly entertaining when Jason Alexander, Bill Paxton, Mark Harmon and especially Ron Perlman appear as the awful guests, but irredeemably shallow and unsure whether it is black comedy, parody, irony or farce.

Methodist, miller and mogul

Lynn Barber

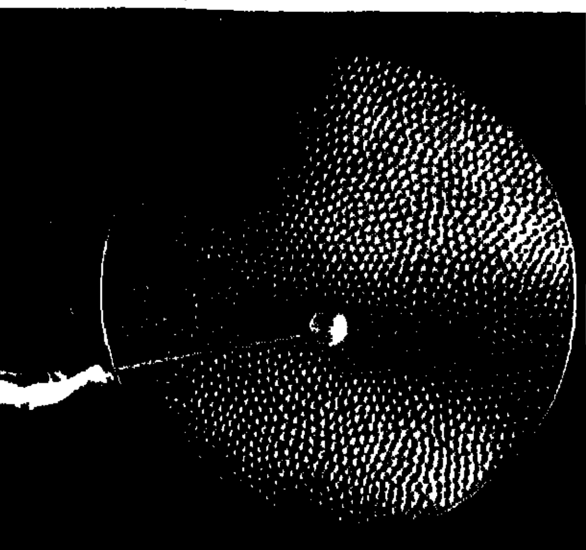
J Arthur Rank: The Man Behind The Gong
by Michael Wakelin
Lion 256pp £16.99

THIS is a sweetly old-fashioned biography from which you will never learn why schoolboys are so fond of the name J Arthur Rank. In fact, its slightest Pooterish tone is entirely appropriate to the subject. Rank regarded himself as a Methodist first, a miller second, and a film mogul only by accident. He loved flour more than film and faith more than both. His father, starting from a half-share in a Hull windmill, became the biggest miller and grain importer in Britain and gave J Arthur £1 million for his 31st birthday in 1919. But his eldest son Jimmy was installed as his successor in the flour business, so J Arthur looked around for something else to do.

As an ardent Methodist, he taught Sunday school throughout his life, but he was never very good at it. He noticed that the children started fidgeting whenever he spoke and on one occasion the pianist fell asleep. He thought that films might help and so, in 1933, he started the Religious Film Society with the Rev Thomas Tiplady and chose its first script "Lax of Poplar" (sadly retitled "Mastership" for the screen) about a famous East End preacher. It lasted 20 minutes and cost £2,700. His second film was about St Francis of Assisi starring Donald Wolfit and Greer Garson. Within three years, he owned Pinewood Studios, and in 1941 he bought the 300-strong Odeon cinema chain from Oscar Deutsch. By the end of the war, J Arthur Rank Films manufactured almost every component of the British film industry, from lenses to cinema seats.

Although cinema-going declined catastrophically with the advent of television in the fifties he had a lucky windfall in the shape of Xerox photocopiers, which he bought as one of his sidelines. In 1952 his brother died and he went back to his first love, flour. The rule was: flour business by day, film business by night; prayers throughout. Unopinionated about film, he was passionate about flour and refused ever to eat brown bread on the grounds that it contained floor sweepings.

Wakelin wisely does not try to make his subject too exciting. In fact he admits early on: "There was undoubtedly a certain intellectual dullness about J Arthur Rank that seemed to permeate his character." When an American reporter cheekily asked him: "Is it true, Mr Rank, that you're dumb?" Rank thought about it for a long time then said: "No, just dull." He was a teetotaller, a keen shot, a dog-breeder, and a Philistine. One of his many maxims was: "The cheapest thing to buy in the world is brains." He once asked a board meeting what they considered the most wonderful monument in London and told them the answer was Cleopatra's Needle: "Because it is the only monument in London upon which the eyes of our Lord Jesus Christ have gazed." His house was famously hideous and all his paintings were of game birds or dogs. Asked to stand godfather to a friend's niece, he said only if she were given the middle name Partridge. Her parents demurred, but they reached a compromise — the child was christened Virginia Pheasant Powell.



Rank's famous gong was made of plaster and the sound dubbed

Michael Wakelin's background is religious broadcasting and he devotes more space to Rank's Methodism than to the British film industry. He begins every chapter with a hymn quotation, just as Rank began every business meeting with a prayer, though fortunately he does not break off to write postcards to his Sunday school class, as Rank used to do. The famous Rank gong is consigned to a footnote — apparently it was made of plaster so could never be beaten, and the sound was dubbed from a Japanese tam-tam.

Rank gave away £100 million during his life (mainly to build Methodist Central Halls) and the Rank Foundation which he left is one of the six biggest charities in Britain. He died in 1972, aged 83. Towards the end, he was obsessed with the Holy Spirit and would bang the boardroom table to declare: "But we have the Holy Spirit on our side." Once, when signing a big film contract, he turned to one of the secretaries and said: "It's curious, isn't it, to think that Jesus Christ is in the room with us now?"

Rank undoubtedly created the British film industry, such as it was, but took no particular pride in it. In 1946 he invited all the film critics to a Christmas lunch at the Dorchester where he fed them lobsters, turkey and ice-cream. On each menu he wrote "Ah well — a Happy Christmas anyway", and in his speech he said: "I am only doing this job because no one else will." — *The Observer*

Palestine in translation

Ahdaf Soueif

A Land of Stone and Thyme: An Anthology of Palestinian Short Stories
ed by Nur and Abdel Wahab Elmessiri
Quartet 252pp £9

IF HEMINGWAY were alive, he should have gone to the West Bank or southern Lebanon and joined the Palestinian resistance. If he had survived, he would have told a tale as compelling as any he told of the Spanish Civil War — and possibly more harrowing.

The Elmessiris (father and daughter) have chosen these stories to lead us through the Palestinian experience. From displacement, to disbelieving exile, to alienation and despair, to a fulfilment (of sorts) through resistance; the collection tells its own story.

The problem, though, with this kind of structuring, is that what emerges in the end is fairly uneven. Rashad Abu Shawer's "A Green House with a Brick-Red Roof", for example, reads like a 10-year-old's attempt at describing the random horror of war: a bomb falls on a boy and girl who have just been playing together. The two children's heads fall, roll, then settle "side by side . . . like two wilted oranges". On the other hand, Rasmi Abu Ali's "Kurza", in which a group of villagers thrown off their land try to decide where to go, is a gem of subtlety.

The stories also vary hugely in their literary antecedents. There are the allegories, such as "And They Confiscated Joy in My City", by Mohamed Ali Taha; the Kafkaesque, such as Ghassan Kanafani's "Nothing"; the lyrical/tough — such as the story which made me think of Hemingway, Yehia Yakhlaf's excellent "Norma and the Snowman". The effect is of a nation trying to find a form to express its suffering. For my money, the more straight the telling, the better the tale.

In their "Note on the Politics of Translation", the editors state their intention to adopt a "non-fluent strategy of translating". This is to show the reader that "Arabic writing . . . cannot so easily be appropriated by, or naturalised and domesticated into English. It resists." They call this "err[ing] on the side of the text" rather than on the side of the reader. But surely the text is best served by assuring it a fair and accurate representation in the "target" language?

We all know that a great deal is lost in translation. But sometimes translations can misrepresent the text. This is particularly dangerous when a reader believes he or she is gaining some insight into the consciousness of a people. When a story is read, as these stories must be, as testimony rather than completely imaginative fiction, and when the reader is "the West" and the stories are "the Palestinians", then a truly serious responsibility falls on the translator.

Trapped between promise and reality

Giles Foden

The Total Package: The Evolution and Secret Meaning of Boxes, Bottles, Cans and Tubes
by Thomas Hine
Little, Brown 289pp £16.99

PACKAGES can be conceived as a deliberate, half-controlled confusion between themselves and their contents. Between promise and reality, between (if you like, and John Keats did) "beauty and truth". This book includes a discussion of that address to a proto-package, Keats's "Ode on a Grecian Urn". Though with "greater intensity and higher expectations than a child reading a cereal box at the breakfast table", Keats expresses a similar faith that a container can "tell more than what's merely inside" — and sometimes it doesn't tell even that.

But from the 5,000-year-old beer jug discovered at a Sumerian trading post to the plastic cups now being dug out of 1950's landfills by the trendier archaeologists, packages and containers do tell our story. We are Beaker people, every one. It is no accident that in a great many societies, vessels — cabinets, caskets, cups, tabernacles, monstrances — have played a role in religion. The earliest proper packages, with name labels and distinctive containers, were mystic elixirs, artful salves.

For as Keats recognised, the transcendental-tending promise of the vessel or the unopened package is also the essential promise — or lie — of much art and religion. That mystery, of a potential dependent on resistance to explanation ("opening", "drinking from"), may partly account for the redemptive strength of the Grail myth within Western culture.

Thomas Hine's history and semiotics of packaging (the "stepchild of advertising") considers such matters but begins closer to home — or to Sainsbury's.

The 30,000 packages that we encounter in the average supermarket, Hine says, have a double burden: both to contain the product and to accelerate its purchase. Sometimes this mechanism is open (those transparent windows on pasta packets), at other times the wrapping is a cunning disguise.

Most of this book is concerned with capsule-like histories of the triumphs of containment. These are sometimes technical achievements: the liberation of the glass industry from the closed shop of Venice, the military significance of canning, the crucial invention of the paper bag(!) and the cardboard box(!!), of refrigeration, of the shopping trolley, of Cellophane, the aerosol, the microwave and the Tetrapak (the fiddly milk carton).

Otherwise these narratives are commercial plots, branding tales: Quaker, Marlboro, Pears, Colgate, Wrigley's gum, Pepsi, Coca-Cola, Heinz ketchup. Epic brands like these are essentially compromised, Hine says, as works of visual art. But some of them — like Andy Warhol's Campbell's soup tins, the Bass ale bottle in Manet's Bar at the Folies Bergères, or (most notoriously) the Pears soap in Sir John Millais's Bubbles — have found their way into works of art. The toothpaste tube, meanwhile, was developed from the tubes used to contain artists' paint.

OTHER sections in Hine's comprehensive and imaginative book deal with different modes of packaging — layering, bundling, sealing. Others still consider the rise of total packing systems.

But the package, with its magic of anticipation and its combination of display and concealment, can also lie and seduce and suborn. Hine traces the rise of forgery and imitation, the development of legislation for fair measures and representation of contents, and for nutrition information.

He touches, too, on legitimate global packaged service concepts like McDonald's and Holiday Inn, the "packaging" of politicians, and on the user-interface of computers: DOS, Windows, Macintosh, which is the true Penelope? In all of these areas, the key note struck (or not) is that of authenticity — trust again.

The wrapping of presents, for instance, common to many cultures and an art form in Japan, is an explicit statement of mutual trust, a ritual of tribute and cohesion. For the Ancient Greeks, the poisoned or treacherous gift (the Trojan Horse) was the most terrible social evil. In this context, beware the Empties, the Undead of packaging — "spectres of regret".

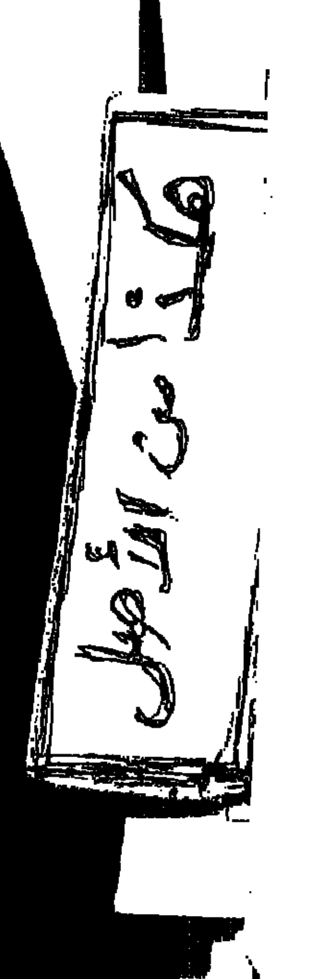
For if not recyclable or biodegradable, the package soon becomes our bad gift to ourselves or our children.

Thrown away, is the package still a synecdoche, a part of what is packaged? Or is it now metaphor, just standing in, only like a negative, for what's been consumed? Some foods, like pies and sausages or (grace of God) nuts and fruits, are packages in themselves.

Hine doesn't quite forge a connection one might make here, between Puritan attitudes to packaging and the fraught doctrine of transubstantiation — probably wisely.

For if this book has a fault it is a sort of desultory glee in the proliferation of packaging and its meanings. One of the problems is that, because it is at the very site of definition — of interiority and exteriority, of closure and exposure — almost anything can be a package.

Keats, in another poem, "To Sleep", makes a more daring comparison — the soul itself as vessel, perhaps empty — as he urges the dozy one to "Turn the key deftly in the oilèd wards, / And seal the hushèd casket of my soul".

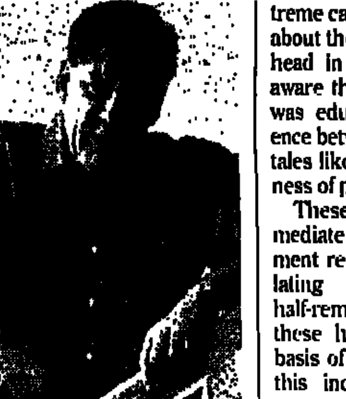


Psyche of the gothic

Patrick McGrath used to live in Broadmoor. **Nicholas Wroe** discovers his fiction still inhabits the asylum

IT'S NO secret that Patrick McGrath was brought up in Broadmoor. His father was Medical Superintendent there. They lived on site and the young Patrick's friends were the murderers, arsonists and rapists who tended the McGrath family garden. But while he has previously written childhood reminiscences and — in his 1993 novel Spider — a patient's story, it is only now that he has chosen to do "a proper job of describing a top security hospital in terms of the staff". The impulse seems to have been the death of his father in 1994.

McGrath, who himself worked as an orderly at Broadmoor and in an institution in Canada, has made a speciality of portraying the intricacies of psychological disorder, delivered in the most impeccable prose. Through a series of emotionally and intellectually thrilling fictions, habitually set in a sepia-tinted Home Counties some time between the 1930s and 1960s, he offers a stylish sifting of the psyches of the English *in extremis*.



McGrath: intellectually thrilling fictions PHOTO: MARTIN ARGLES

Talking in his South London town-house where he and his wife, the actress Maria Aitken, spend half their time (the other half is in New York), the 46-year-old McGrath is friendly but precise. Such is his association with derangement and its consequences, it comes as little surprise to learn that their home is down the road from the site of the original Bedlam, on which now stands the Imperial War Museum.

He is garrulously at ease with both the theory and practice of madness and incarceration. "Although my father was careful not to talk about the patients I knew in terms of what they'd done, he was happy to talk in general terms about mental illness and some of the more extreme cases. For example, I was told about the vicar who baked his wife's head in the oven, but I was also aware that this was strange stuff. I was educated to know the difference between enjoying rather bizarre tales like that, and the serious business of psychiatric treatment."

These efforts of his parents to mediate a peculiar home environment resulted in McGrath accumulating a welter of half-heard, half-remembered stories. One of these has provided him with the basis of his new novel: "There was this incident when I was about seven or eight," he recalls, "that I caught a whisper of, but no more was said. It involved a psychiatrist's wife and a patient and it was, I think, pretty swiftly squelched by the authorities. But it's stayed with me, and with the idea of that triangle, the setting was ready made."

Asylum is his fourth novel and opens in the summer of 1959. It details, with characteristic psychic accuracy, the blighted lives of the Raphael family: ambitious psychiatrist Max, his wife Stella and young son Charlie, and their relationship with the sculptor and wife-murderer Edgar Stark, who is a patient. The novel is narrated by Dr Peter Cleave, an older psychiatrist, who observes the unfolding catastrophe with a detached and jaundiced professionalism.

It is tempting to elevate McGrath's work, with its punishingly delivered commitment to psychological accuracy and its refusal to embrace any supernatural hocus pocus, beyond the gothic genre. But McGrath has no problem with the label.

"Gothic is an honourable term," he says, "and some of the best 19th century writers wrote gothic. Before Freud told us how we worked, it was the gothic writers who were most interested in the workings of the unconscious mind.

"But I'm in the post-Freudian tradition. While it may no longer require a gothic novelist to tell us that dark forces are rolling around somewhere in our hearts, that doesn't mean you're not in a position to create characters who are unconscious of the roots of their motivations." He pursues this line in Asylum through the character of Cleave, the apparently all-seeing narrator.

"When a profession has such a level of social power that it's able to define the meaning of other people's experience and can classify the sane and the insane, it has real social control. I wanted to say that this power can be abused and blinded by personal bias."

At the heart of the new novel is an unflinching depiction of sexual obsession. The tensions between the Raphaels and Edgar Stark leave Stella facing "on one side the pressure of society, the presence of a child and the force of habit, and on the other the promise of re-birth that can come with a new lover". It is a particularly juicy conflict, with Stella being pulled one way by a lunatic and the other by a psychiatrist. In probing the negotiations of what is acceptable within those fraught circumstances, McGrath confronts the reader with "probably the most horrible transgression in human nature — the failure to protect one's young".

ASYLUM is his most contemporary novel. Yet the social landscape is still that of his parents' generation and the TV, a "huge grey box with a bulgy screen", is extinguished of any sense of glamorous modernity by its institutional placement in a Broadmoor dayroom. "I just happen to like the England of 30 or 40 years ago," he says. "I like people smoking untipped Players and drinking gin."

While he acknowledges that both his personal preference and his status as a semi-exile in the US leave him more comfortable dealing with the recent past, he admits to another, overriding motivation. "I'm really more interested in what happens in people's minds, emotions and sexuality than I am in taking a reading on contemporary Britain," he says. "When it comes down to it, I care about psychic rather than social realities." Proving that you can take the boy out of the psychiatric home . . .

Asylum (Viking, £16) can be ordered at the discount price of £12 from Books@The Guardian Weekly

Dislocation in black London

Paula Tumulty

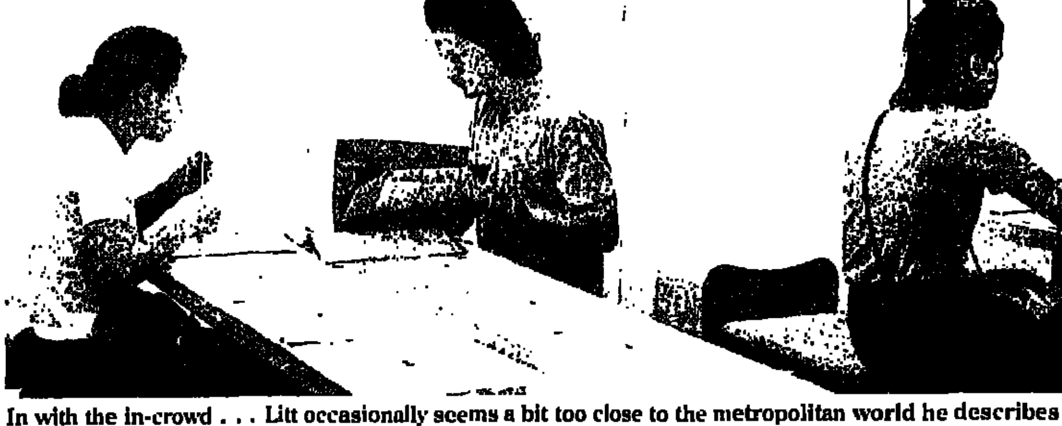
Some Kind Of Black
by Diran Adebayo
Virago £9.99

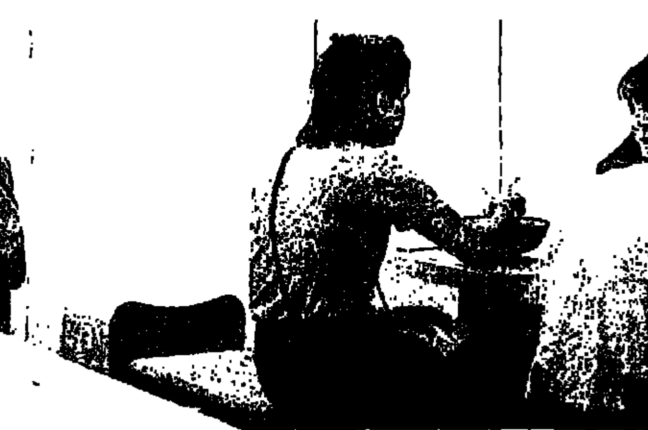
ADEBAYO'S work is an account of the various dispositions of "black London". The central character Dele is a young black student of Nigerian origin trying to come to terms with both his Oxford education and the violence and seduction of the city streets: "In the night-time, the capital seemed a different town, as black London swarmed around it in wave after wave. The first thing you noticed was the radio. The 24-7 pirates would be joined by their soundboys-in-arms during the small hours . . . And most probably even the legals would be playing something black at this time."

The novel depicts Dele's growing sense of dislocation from a world of leftie students, fascist police and Afro-bohos. The climax of the story is a day in Brixton. Dele, his sister Dapo and Concrete have been checking out the dance scene when they are arrested.

A policeman kicks Dele in the jaw and shouts "You fuckin' Nigerians! You're all fuckin' crooks! You think you can get away with anything doncha?" The violence soon escalates, ending with Dapo on her way to hospital in a coma.

Adebayo has produced a good read and (I'd hazard a guess) one that is semi-autobiographical: the 28-year-old author studied at Oxford. Now a journalist, he won the Saga Prize, set up to encourage black writing.





In with the in-crowd . . . Litt occasionally seems a bit too close to the metropolitan world he describes PHOTOGRAPH: DAVID SILLITOE

Wagamama's children of Generation X

Ben Rogers

Adventures in Capitalism
by Toby Litt
Secker and Warburg 228pp £12.99

THIS is a work of fiction. Names, characters, places and incidents are the products of the author's imagination or are used fictitiously, and any resemblance to persons living or dead, or to events or locales, is entirely coincidental. All of which is a very large lie.

These short stories are set in Wagamama, London's most fashionable noodle bar, in the equally modish National Film Theatre, in karaoke bars and — going downmarket a little bit — in Boots and an Ealing launderette. Their protagonists include young writers, film producers, out-of-work actors, Socialist Workers and models.

This is the instantly recognisable twenty-something universe of Time Out, Esquire and Marie Claire, of phone calls, phone cards, phone sex, and portable telephones; a place in which brand names — Zanussi, Ben and Jerry, Fiat, PowerGen, Björk, and Portishead — have long effaced place names; where consumption and culture are as inseparable as Dolce & Gabana, and where people talk late into the night about Foucault, or at least, about which Foucault biography is best. This is the world of metropolitan, postmodern capitalism — "Thou shall shop until thou drop. Or should it be droppest?" Only, Litt sees it his own way, through ever-so-cool dark shades.

Toby Litt (great name, Tobe!) is the latest (27-year-old) star to emerge from the University of East Anglia's creative writing programme where he won the 1995 Curtis Brown Scholarship. Many of his characters look out of the window and see strange things; so does Litt, who works as a sub-titler. He sees a man who wins the lottery and decides to spend a fairytale year doing everything the ads tell him; another who does not understand that Mr Kipling is an invention and so has him to tea; a third, an effete and reclusive writer, who finds a sunflower growing from his cheek and sells his story to the papers.

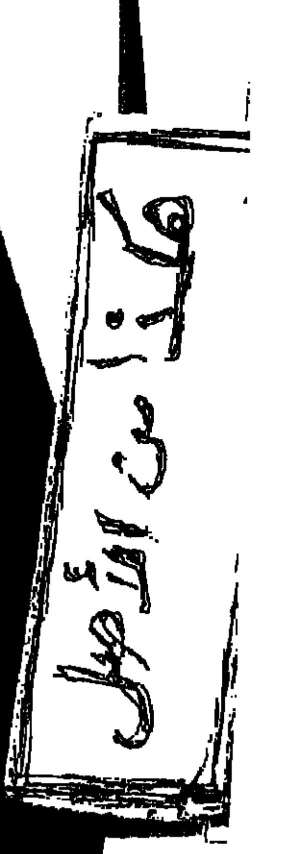
Gabriel is a model and a pop star — 6ft 4in, "Pale, Byronic and Well Hung"; Blanka is a model and pop star, too, 6ft 3in, "Golden, Snowy, Stacked". "We just went straight for each other," they tell the journalists, "the moment we were in the same room together." These are clever evocations of a world in which "physical beauty, pop fame, planetary wealth" are the things that really matter; a teasing laugh at the vacuity of the ad men and the dreams of the rest of us.

Many of Litt's characters are mad, although, of course, they are the last to know it. "He's harmless," the woman in the shop says about one. "I feel sorry for them," the lady in the launderette says behind the back of another.

Pain and death, abortion and miscarriage, plastic surgery and sado-masochistic sex, a baby in a washing machine — these things keep bubbling to the surface, usually when you least expect them.

Evans is an unemployed actor forced to earn a living as a pink fluffy bunny, shaking a tin for a children's cancer charity; his daughter thinks it's funny — until she gets run over. Litt's "pieces" (many of them are closer to dreams than stories) almost always work in this way; they are about the allure of our commercial culture, and the brutality beneath it.

Just occasionally, Litt can seem a bit too close to the culture he describes: the heady mixture of pop/high art, the concern to be up to date, the preoccupation with the body and, above all, with Foucault are perhaps a little too trendy. But most of the time, the imaginativeness and flair of this supremely confident first book divert attention from its slight shortcomings. Litt is stylish, Litt is cool, even if he is not (yet) that profound.



Flights of fancy

Paul Evans

"THE ASSYRIAN came down like a wolf on the fold, and his cohorts were gleaming in purple and gold." This summer the Assyrian does not come down like a wolf but a butterfly and what gleams here is a field of purple thistles and golden ragwort. And, just to demolish the macho image further, the butterfly in question is the Painted Lady. This quaintly sexual yet condescending name conceals an animal of great beauty and power. Looking as fragile as a few brightly coloured postage stamps stuck together fluttering in the breeze, the Painted Ladies have flown thousands of miles from southern Europe and North Africa to arrive in Britain. The warm breath of the Mediterranean blows them out and the cool purple of the northern thistles breathes them in. But theirs is a one-way ticket. When the cold weather comes they will die.

Although the odyssey of the Painted Lady happens every year, this summer their numbers have been phenomenal. Why do they travel so far? When did this start? And why does it continue? The story of this year's migration began with exceptional weather in North Africa. Good rains and optimal temperatures produced an early flush of growth and the Painted Ladies had a wealth of food plants which nourished a huge population of caterpillars. Then in early spring, with a perfect wind behind them, clouds of adult butterflies spread throughout continental Europe and into Britain. When they arrived here conditions were also very good and the migrants bred prolifically. Most of the Painted Ladies fluttering delicately but with a steely sense of purpose in British fields and gardens are those that were actually born here.



ILLUSTRATION: BARRY LARKING

This year's phenomenon has not been confined to Painted Ladies. The population of a species in the same genus, the Red Admiral (previously known as the Red Admirable), has also been swollen by migrants and the Silver Y moths, also from North Africa, have arrived in their millions. Although this year's mass migration may seem like a series of happy coincidences, entomologists see a complex biological strategy at work. If all the offspring remain in their original home, there would soon be not enough food to go round and the populations would crash. By migrating, the butterflies and moths can extend their ranges, seeking new opportunities further afield.

Red Admirals rarely survive hibernation in Britain, but more have been doing so recently. Although a few butterflies embark on the reverse migration, it seems that the Painted Ladies may be speculating on conditions favouring their permanent establishment here. This would suggest that they achieved this during warmer climates of the past and that their migration has been an annual quest to reclaim a lost world ever since.

The Painted Ladies have gorgeous copper, brown and white wings. Their name seems to have originated with the entomologist Petiver in 1699 who referred to them by an older Latin name, *Papillio belladonna dicta*. Although "belladonna" may have been used to mean "beautiful woman" it was also the name of a plant (deadly nightshade) used in the manufacture of cosmetics, hence "Painted" Ladies.

These butterflies may not immediately resemble the marauding Assyrian of Byron's poem, but it is certain that if it were not for the affection the British have for butterflies and if it were any other form of insect that had arrived here and bred in such numbers, there would be the typical sci-fi hysteria of invading alien swarms. As it is, there will always be a warm place in the British heart for the Painted Lady.

Chess Leonard Barden

ONLY days after winning his marathon world title match with Gata Kamsky, Anatoly Karpov began a strong category-16 tournament at Biel, Switzerland, where he added yet another to his record collection of some 140 first prizes. You have to admire the energy of this 45-year-old whom Soviet youth trainers once thought too frail for grandmaster chess and whom Nigel Short recently called "near-senile".

Needing to win his final round, Karpov produced a subtle masked attack where his opponent, busy fending off a Q-side invasion, suddenly found his queen trapped on the other flank.

Karpov-Romanishin

1 d4 Nf6 2 c4 e6 3 Nf3 b6 4 a3 Kasparov's one-time favourite. **Bb7 5 Nc3 g6** If c5 6 d5! while d5 6 cxd5 keeps a small edge for White. 6 Qd3!? Interesting. If 6 Qc2 c5, whereas 6 Qd3 c5 allows 7 d5.

Bg7 7 e4 d6 8 Be2 0-0 9 0-0 Nbd7? In this rare transposition from Queen's to King's Indian, White's loss of time with his Q is soon more than offset by Black's e6-e5 and Bb7-c8. Here 9 . . . e5 10 d5 a5 and Na6-c5 should be tried, since the King's Indian mix of Nbd7 with c5 and e5 is passive.

10 Qc2 c5 11 d5 e5 12 g3 Nh5? Ne8! 13 Ne1 Ndf6 14 Ng2 Bc8 15 b4 Qd7 16 bxc5 bxc5 17 Rb1 Qh3? Black's *idée fixe* that he can mate on h2 or g2 is a mirage.

18 Nb5 Qd7 19 Bd2 a6 20 Nc3 Qh3 21 Na4 Ng4 22 Bxg4 Bxg4 23 f3 Nf6 24 Bg5 Not 24 fxg4? Nxg4.

Bd7 25 Rb6 Rab8 26 Rfb1 Rxb6 Bxa4 gives the Q a retreat but loses the a6 pawn.

27 Nxb6 Rb8 28 Rb3! White threatens 29 Bxf6 Bxf6 30 Nxd7 Rxb3 31 Nxf6+.

Ne8 29 Ne1! Rb7 30 Nd3 Threatens 31 Nf2. **Qh5 31 Nxd7 Rxd7??** Losing at once. Rxb3 is better, when 32 Qxb3 Qxg5 33 Qb8 Qe7 34 Qc8 h5 35 Nb8 favours White.

32 h4 Qxf3 Despair. If f5 33 Nf2 and 34 g4. **33 Nf2 Resigns.**

Kramnik-Ivanchuk, Novgorod

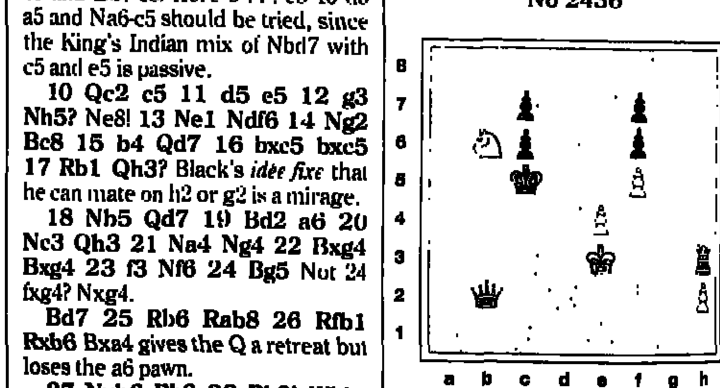
1 Nf3 d5 2 d4 Nf6 3 c4 c6 **4 Nc3 e6 5 Bg5 h6 6 Bh4** dxc4 **7 e4 b5 8 e5 g5 9 Nxg5** hxg5 10 **Bxg5 Nbd7 11 g3 Bb7 12** Bg2 **Qb6 13 exf6 c5 14 d5 0-0-0** 15 **0-0 b4 16 Na4 Qd6?** A dubious novelty in a complex line which both players know well. Qb5 is usual.

17 Bf4! White closes the centre before opening up Black's Q-side. **e5 18 Be3 Bh6 19 Qc1** Bxe3 **20 Qxe3 Ba6 21 a3 Kb8 22** h4 **Rdg8? 23 Nxc5! Nxc5 24** axb4 **Nb7 25 b3! Resigns** An elegant finale. If cxb3 26 b5! Bxb5 27 Qxa7+ and 28 Rfc1+ with a winning attack.

So, more of the fine form that has made Kramnik a class act? In fact, he won only one other game at Novgorod and was joint last: Topalov 6, Ivanchuk 5½, Short 5, Gelfand, Kramnik and Polgar 4½.

Polgar, determined to become the first woman player to make the world's top 10, advanced her case at the Bank of Austria tournament in Vienna. The 20-year-old Hungarian finished only a half-point behind the winner, Karpov.

No 2436



White mates in three moves, against any defence (by J Breuer, 1979). Though Black has few pieces and fewer moves, this can be hard to solve.

No 2435: 1 Bh6 gxh6 2 Kc1 Rb5 (else 3 Nb1) 3 Nxb5. If 1 . . . Nb4 2 Rc4+ Rxc4 3 Nb5.

Quick crossword no. 329

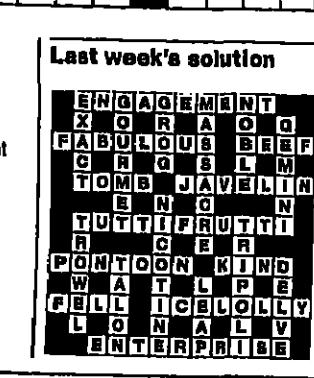
Across

1 Pile (4)
3 Wealthy (8)
9 Free — to make a speech (7)
10 Inflexible (5)
11 Observed — how music is written (5)
12 Really (6)
14 Bank instruction (8,5)
17 Breathe out (6)
19 Grasping tool (5)
22 Fruit of the oak (5)
23 Sickly person — of no legal standing (7)
24 Impertinent (8)
25 Responsibility (4)

Down

1 Sensual pleasure seeker (8)
2 Distribute (5)
4 Beau Geste's outfit (7,6)
5 Sensational (5)
6 Intellectual person (7)
7 Neat (4)
8 Dodged (6)
13 Christian wars of faith (8)
15 Worried (7)
16 Interval of eight notes (6)
18 Make void (5)
20 Man-made fibre (5)
21 The Three Wise Men (4)

Last week's solution



ENGAGEMENT
X O R A O Q
FABULOUS BEEF
C R G S L M
TOMB JAVELIN
E N C N
TUTTIFRUTTI
R C E R
PONTOON KIND
W A T L P E
FELL ICELOLLY
L O N A L V
ENTERPRISE

Bridge Zia Mahmood

"*ACES*", we learned at our mothers' knees, "are made to take kings." But in bridge, as in life, we come to learn that not everything our mothers told us is always true. Look at this deal from the under-20s section of the recent European Junior Bridge Championships in Cardiff, and decide how you would plan the play as South in an ambitious contract of six spades:

North
♠ 6 4
♥ A 9 5 3 2
♦ A Q 4
♣ 8 6 3

South
♠ A K Q J 3 2
♥ K
♦ 8 6
♣ K Q 10 9

West leads the ten of spades. When you draw trumps, you will find that West began with three cards in the suit and East with two.

There are two plausible lines of play. One, you can cash the king of hearts and take a diamond finesse — if this loses, you are down at once, but if it wins, you will be able to give yourself the best chance of avoiding two losing clubs by discarding a club on the ace of hearts and leading clubs twice towards your hand. The chance of success on this line is about 30 per cent.

Alternatively, you can unblock the king of hearts, cross to the ace of diamonds, discard your diamond loser on the ace of hearts, and play a club to the nine — this will succeed if East has the jack and not more than two other clubs. You can improve slightly on this line by cashing a few more trumps, in case anyone discards a club, and it is also good technique to lead the king of clubs from your hand after the king of hearts. But, in essence, you are relying on a favourable club position, the chance of which is about 34 per cent.

So which is it to be? Well done if you chose the second line of play. As you can see from the full deal (above right), you would have brought home your slam.

Alex Hydes of Britain, playing with Mark Teltscher, made six spades by following the superior line of play. At the other table the

	North	
	♠ 6 4 ♥ A 9 5 3 2 ♦ A Q 4 ♣ 8 6 3	
West ♠ 10 9 8 ♥ Q 7 6 ♦ K 9 7 3 ♣ A 4 2		**East** ♠ 7 5 ♥ J 10 8 4 ♦ J 10 5 2 ♣ J 7 5
	South ♠ A K Q J 3 2 ♥ K ♦ 8 6 ♣ K Q 10 9	

French declarer took the diamond finesse, which succeeded. He discarded the ten of clubs on the ace of hearts and led a club to the king. Graham Hazell in the West seat, playing with Abbey Walker, ducked the ace of clubs, seemingly without thought. South crossed to the ace of diamonds and led a club to the queen. This time, of course, Hazell took his ace, and the contract was one down.

The British under-20s won the bronze medal in Cardiff, a fine performance. Germany were the runaway winners of the gold, and Israel took silver.

Football Premiership

Jittery start for United

David Lacey

ALL of a sudden Manchester United are a home defeat waiting to happen. It is 20 months since they last lost at Old Trafford in the Premiership but in less than a week Everton and now Blackburn Rovers have led the champions on their own ground before being held to 2-2 draws.

On Sunday Blackburn were denied the sweetest of victories by a baby-faced 23-year-old Norwegian, Ole Gunnar Solskjaer, who within nine minutes of making his first league appearance for United brought the scores level for the second and last time.

But for the goalkeeping of Tim Flowers Manchester United would have won the game in the closing minutes, an outcome which would have done scant justice to the way Rovers had controlled the better part of it.

Blackburn were still entitled to take more satisfaction from the afternoon. They came to Old Trafford pointless and goalless after defeats by Tottenham and Aston Villa. The departure of Alan Shearer to Newcastle United, rather than director of football Kenny Dalglish to the golf course following his midweek departure from Ewood Park, had left Rovers' fans in a state of shock, and Manchester United's summer-long overtures to the England striker had hardly improved relationships between the clubs.

Hot shot . . . Alan Shearer scores from the penalty spot to put Newcastle United 1-0 up against Sheffield Wednesday. But goals from Peter Atherton and Guy Whittingham gave Wednesday a victory that silenced the St James' Park faithful PHOTO: MIKE SCOTT

But on Sunday, playing without an orthodox centre-forward and dominating the midfield for an hour, Blackburn took on United at their own counter-attacking game and preyed on the generous amount of space Alex Ferguson's defence continued to allow the opposition.

Considering the number of times Gallacher appeared between the United centre-backs May and Pallister in the first 45 minutes, Blackburn could have won the match by half-time. Essentially, however, Blackburn's initial superiority sprang from the command established in midfield by Bohinen — a member of the Nottingham Forest side who were the last to win in the league at Old Trafford, in December 1994 — and Tim Sherwood.

Rovers rather allowed Manchester United back into the match after going ahead in the 33rd minute when Gallacher met Ripley's centre from the left with a glancing header and Warhurst forced the ball in, Schmeichel having failed to hold it on the goalline. Five minutes later Hendry, attempting to nod Schmeichel's long clearance back to Flowers, merely set up Cruyff to lob the scores level.

Five minutes after half-time Bohinen gathered a ball from Sherwood on the right, drew clear of McClair and turned inside Irwin before beating Schmeichel at the near post to restore Blackburn's lead.

Solskjaer, skilful and quick, was an immediate influence. In the 69th minute Cruyff touched on another huge kick from Schmeichel and the young Norwegian volleyed in United's second goal on the rebound after seeing Flowers block his first shot. Flowers then denied Old Trafford a win with late saves from Pallister and Beckham.

"That was the best Blackburn have played against us in recent years," Ferguson admitted. But Rovers would have preferred three points to consoling words.

Football results

FA CARLING PREMIERSHIP: Aston Villa 2, Derby County 0; Chelsea 2, Coventry 0; Leeds 1, Wimbledon 0; Leicester 0, Arsenal 2; Liverpool 0, Sunderland 0; Manchester Utd 2, Blackburn 2; Newcastle 1, Sheffield Wed 2; Nottm Forest 1, Middlesbrough 1; Tottenham 0, Everton 0; West Ham 2, Southampton 1. **Leading positions:** 1, Sheffield Wed (played 3, points 9); 2, Chelsea (3-7); 3, Arsenal (3-6).

NATIONWIDE LEAGUE: First Division: Barnsley 3, Huddersfield 1; Bolton 3, Norwich 1; Charlton 1, West Brom 1; Crystal Palace 3, Oldham 1, Ipswich 5, Reading 2; Oxford United 5, Southend 0; Sheffield United 4, Birmingham City 4; Stoke 2, Manchester City 1; Swindon Town 1, Port Vale 1; Wolverhampton 1, Bradford 0; **Leading positions:** 1, Bolton (3-7), 2, Barnsley (2-6); 3, Wolverhampton (2-6).

Second Division: Brentford 3, Luton 2; Bristol City 0, Blackpool 1; Burnley 2, Walsall 1; Chesterfield 1, Bury 2; Peterborough 2, Crewe 2; Preston 0, Bristol Rovers 0; Rotherham 1, Shrewsbury 2; Stockport 0, Notts County 0; Watford 0, Millwall 2; Wrexham 4, Plymouth 4; Wycombe 1, Gillingham 1; York 1, Bournemouth 2. **Leading positions:** 1, Burnley (2-6), 2, Plymouth (2-4); 3, Brentford (2-4).

Third Division: Barnet 1, Wigan 1; Cardiff 1, Brighton 0; Carlisle 0, Hull 0; Chester 1, Cambridge 1; Darlington 4, Swansea 1; Exeter 2, Scarborough 2, Hartlepool 2, Fulham 1; Hereford 1, Doncaster 0; Lincoln 1, L Orient 1, Northampton 3, Mansfield 0; Rochdale 0, Colchester 0; Scunthorpe 1, Torquay 0. **Leading positions:** 1, Hartlepool (2-6); 2, Scunthorpe (2-6); 3, Exeter (2-4).

BELL'S SCOTTISH LEAGUE: Premier Division: Aberdeen 4, Hearts 0, Hibernian 0, Dunfermline 0, Kilmarnock 1, Celtic 4, Raith Rovers 0, Motherwell 3, Rangers 1, Dundee Utd 0. **Leading positions:** 1, Rangers (3-9); 2, Celtic (3-7), 3, Aberdeen (3-5).

First Division: Airdrie 0, East Fife 0, Clydebank 1, Stirling 0, Dundee 2, Greenock Morton 1, Falkirk 1, Partick 0, St Mirren 0, St Johnstone 3. **Leading positions:** 1, St Johnstone (2-4); 2, Dundee (2-4), 3, Airdrie (2-4).

Second Division: Berwick 0, Stenhousemuir 6, Brechin 1, Ayr 1; Hamilton 2, Clyde 0, Queen of South 2, Dumbarton 1; Stranraer 1, Livingston 2. **Leading positions:** 1, Livingston (2-6), 2, Stenhousemuir (2-4), 3, Hamilton (2-4).

Third Division: Alloa 1, Arbroath 1, Cowdenbeath 1, Montrose 0, Forfar 3, Inverness CT 1; Ross County 1, Queen's Park 2. **Leading positions:** 1, Cowdenbeath (2-6), 2, Albion (2-6); 3, Arbroath (2-4)

Cricket Third Test

Pakistani glee as England crumble again

Mike Selvey at The Oval

THERE was no rearguard action at The Oval on Monday. No thin red line; no glory. Instead, as Big Ben, on the skyline beyond the rooftops, struck five o'clock, Aamir Sohail carved Robert Croft for successive boundaries to give Pakistan overwhelming victory in the final Test of the summer by nine wickets.

A blaze of strokeplay had brought a flamboyant climax to what had been a day of carnage and ignominy for England, who began the day on 74 for no wicket nurturing hopes if not of winning — that had disappeared days ago — then of limiting the damage.

Instead, after Mike Atherton and Alec Stewart had extended their opening stand to 96, England lost all 10 wickets in 49 overs for a further 146 runs, only Stewart (54), Nasser Hussain (51) and Atherton (43) offering more than token resistance.

Six of the wickets went in 30 unbroken overs to the magical wrist-spin of Mushtaq Ahmed — eight for 156 in the match — while the Pakistan captain Wasim Akram blasted out three of the last four, the final one taking him to 300 in Tests. He became the second Pakistani after Imran Khan, and the 11th in all, to do so.

Such irresistible bowling from the most complete attack — the right word — on the planet left Pakistan 29 overs in which to score the 48 runs required. They needed just 39 balls as one consolation wicket, that of Saeed Anwar, hero of the first innings, fell to Alan Mullally.

There was true justification for the Pakistani celebrations that ensued. England have played 39 three-match series at home and never before lost two matches. It means they have now won only one of the last 19 Tests between the two countries to Pakistan's seven.

They were beaten by a very good side, and the ceremonies after the game were predictable. Mushtaq Ahmed was indisputably declared both man of the match and Pakistan's Man of the Series, while Stewart, whose career has been restored this past month, was England's Man of the Series.

England's ill-chosen bowling attack finally flickered into life in mid-afternoon on Saturday by removing Inzamam-ul-Haq and Saeed Anwar in consecutive overs.

But by then it was too late. Pakistan had already overtaken England's modest first innings total of 326 and the chances of Mike Atherton's side squaring the series had been scuppered.

Pakistan declared on Sunday, having made 521 for 8, the highlights of their innings being Saeed Anwar's 176 and Salim Malik's 100 not out.

At least in John Crawley, England had something to shout about on the batting front, the Lancashire man reaching 106 in the first innings — his maiden Test century and a performance that should seal his international future in the medium term.

England 326 (Crawley 106, Younis 4-95, Akram 3-83) and 242 (Stewart 54, Hussain 51, M Ahmed 6-78, Akram 3-67); **Pakistan** 521 for 8 dec (Anwar 176, Malik 100 not out, Mullaly 3-97) and 48 for 1.
Pakistan won by 9 wickets

Sports Diary Mike Kiely

Saints marching on

BOBBY Goulding, captain of St Helens, lifted his second Rugby League trophy of the season when his side secured the inaugural Super League title. Leading his team out at Knowsley Road, the skipper inspired Saints to a 66-14 victory win over Warrington to add the trophy to the Silk Cup Challenge Cup won at Wembley against Bradford Bulls in May.

However, Goulding believes his team are not finished yet: "We said when we won one trophy we'd win all three. We want the Premiership."

The north-south divide in Rugby Union, which has left the former Five Nations countries lagging behind Australia, New Zealand and South Africa and has led many observers in the game to call for more competitive contact between the two hemispheres of the rugby world, may be narrowed thanks to an agreement whereby England will play Australia twice a season for the next seven years, on a home and away basis.

The agreement comes as a welcome boost to the Twickenham authorities after the row with the home unions over a deal with BSkyB that led to England being thrown out of the Five Nations for the coming season.

THE issue of drug abuse dominated the agenda at the Test & County Cricket Board when Ed Giddins, the Sussex and England A pace bowler was suspended from the first-class game until April 1998 after taking cocaine. Giddins tested positive for the drug after a random test during his county's championship match against Kent in May, and a subsequent second examination confirmed the result. Giddins has 14 days to appeal.

ONE OF Russia's swimming heroes at the Atlanta Olympics, double gold medallist Alexander Popov, has been stabbed in a Moscow street. The 24-year-old, who retained his 50m and 100m freestyle titles at this summer's Games, underwent surgery for damage to his lungs and kidneys and was said to be in a serious condition. Police sources said Popov had been involved in an argument with a roadside water-melon seller before the incident.

THE US Open at Flushing Meadow lost its first seed before a ball was struck in anger when Russia's Yevgeny Kafelnikov, the French Open champion and ranked four in the world, withdrew from the tournament after being demoted to seventh seed. The official line was that Kafelnikov had withdrew due to a rib injury but the Russian said: "I don't want to be part of a tournament which does things like this. I've been having treatment and my ribs feel better but my head is completely gone because of what they have done."

IAN WOOSNAM could literally thank the heavens for his victory at the Volvo German Open at Stuttgart's Nippenburg club. The 38-year-old Welshman, who was six shots clear after three rounds, picked up the winner's cheque after all fourth round scores were cancelled following thunderstorms and torrential rain that held up play three times. The tournament director decided enough was enough and ruled that the event be deemed a 54-hole competition, leaving Woosnam at the top of the Volvo Rankings with £480,618, ahead of Scotland's Colin Montgomerie, absent from Stuttgart, who has £429,419. There was double delight for Woosnam, his 193 equalling the European three-round record score.



Woosnam . . . German Open triumph PHOTO: RICHARD KILLE

RETIRING with the grace that epitomised the golden moments of a memorable career appears to be the furthest thing from Linford Christie's mind. A crowd of 10,000 turned up at Gateshead to bid a final farewell to the former Olympic sprint champion only for the Briton to announce that, on reflection, he had decided to carry on racing next year. "I told Malcolm Arnold today I will do the Europa Cup because it's in Munich and as a favour to my doctor. That will be it. I won't be doing anything else."

Distance running witnessed two milestone in Brussels when Salah Hissou and Svetlana Masterkova broke two world records. In the 10,000 metres, Hissou took five seconds off the existing mark achieved by the Ethiopian Haile Gebrselassie, while Masterkova, the Olympic 800m and 1,500m champion crossed the line in the 1,000m race in 2min 28.98sec, .36 of a second faster than the record Maria Mutola set last year.

TWENTY spectators were injured during the 1,000 Lakes Rally when one of the competing cars ran into a crowd. Entering a fast right-hand bend, the Mitsubishi of Denmark's Richard Karstem carried straight on. "He tried to avoid the crowd but was out of control," said an eyewitness.

THE United States topped the final medals table at the 10th Paralympics in Atlanta with 42 golds, followed by Australia with 41, Germany with 40 and Britain on 39.